

COMMUNIST REVIEW

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No. 2

CONTENTS

<i>Review of the Month</i>	<i>Wm. Paul</i>
<i>May Day</i>	<i>Trotsky</i>
<i>We Have Paid Too Much</i>	<i>Lenin</i>
<i>Fall of Paris Commune</i>	<i>R. W. Postgate</i>
<i>Politics in City</i>	<i>J. T. Walton Newbold</i>
<i>Anniversary of Red Army</i>	<i>E. Roy</i>
<i>Discussion on Douglas Proposals</i>	
<i>International Notes</i>	

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The COMMUNIST REVIEW

EDITOR :: WM. PAUL

Volume 3

June, 1922

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Review of the Month

Genoa

NOW that the much-advertised Genoa Conference has ended, we are able to understand why it failed to solve the fundamental problems which called it into existence. The inner essence of the Conference was hidden beneath a welter of spectacular glamour and dramatic events. No one understands better than the Marxians and Communists that the surging undercurrents of history are seldom noticed by those superficial observers who only study prominent personalities prancing and prattling in the vivid lime-light of the social stage. Despite all its tinsel and trappings, Genoa will be a landmark in history. It will be famous not for what it accomplished, but rather for the nature of the tasks it was called upon to solve. Genoa was nothing more or less than a desperate attempt of world capitalism to try and stabilise itself. But it was even something more than that; it marked the beginning of a series of international struggles, in the diplomatic field, between revolutionary Socialism and reactionary Imperialism.

Modern society has created a technique which is international. This is the great contribution that Capitalism has made to history. It stands to-day as the greatest glory and at the same time the most disastrous achievement of the bourgeoisie. The international character of modern technique compels the highly developed nations to lean on one another. It is this economic fact that is cutting across the Versailles Treaty and which is showing the indemnity-mongers, from Lloyd George down to J. Ramsay MacDonald, that no matter how they may monkey with the thermometer, they cannot transform the economic atmosphere.

While the technique to-day is international, the propertied elements who control it are divided into nationalist groups, each of which is seeking to exclude the other in order to scoop in all the profits. This struggle conducted by the various "nationals" against each other is fought out in battlefields, and in conferences such as the recent one at Genoa. It is a conflict so bitter and

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all parts of Europe, the leaders of the Second International, with characteristic slowness and treachery, succeeded in arranging their preliminary meeting to discuss the situation at Genoa on the same day that the great Conference closed!

As in all their struggles since 1917, the Soviet Republics had to depend on their own strength in their diplomatic war with the Imperialist Powers at Genoa. Let no one misunderstand Genoa. It was a conference struggle between the new revolutionary forces and the old Capitalist Powers. It was as important and fateful as the fights of the Red Armies against Denikin, Koltchak, and Wrangel. The music and the conductors were the same, only the players were different. Russia's opening move was a daring plea for disarmament. Here was an ideal opportunity for the rhetorical pacifists of the Second International to have used their influence on behalf of their ideal of universal peace. No action, beyond passing the usual resolution, was taken. When the Second International is dead and damned the words "No action" will be found inscribed upon its white liver.

Lloyd George had hoped that Genoa would turn into a conference where the differences between all Capitalist groups would be merged into one mighty and united instrument against the Soviet Republics. He had visions of conciliating Germany, of breaking the chauvinistic spirit of France, and of getting a united Capitalist front against the Bolsheviks. He had dreams of returning from Genoa as the champion Bolshevik pulveriser, with a great European peace in his pocket, and a triumphant general election within his reach. He had hoped to hear Cluchierin whining and to see the Soviet delegation gratefully accepting humiliating concessions and unstinted abuse; all this would have been pleasing to Winston Churchill and J. H. Thomas. It would also have been such splendid copy for his wife's guest—Madame Snowden of the I.L.P. Instead of these things happening, Genoa showed that the internecine conflicts among the Capitalist States are deep and chronic. The British Premier had to strive like a trojan at Genoa to preserve an element of common decency among the conflicting Capitalist Powers in their public behaviour. His wonderful eloquence was eclipsed by the non-eloquent Chicherin, whose plain facts dazzled the Conference like forked lightning; the Soviet delegates refused to take either cheap abuse or worthless concessions. Lloyd George's wonderful conference ended without solving any of the great problems, and he had to come home to London cheered only by a few specially drilled automatons.

The Role of the Second International

DESPITE the absence of positive results at Genoa, it was something of a consolation to note how ably, and with what ease, the Soviet delegates defended the policy of the Bolshevik revolution against the imperialist statesmen of the Entente. The real strength of Lloyd George, in his opposition to the proposals put forward by the Russians, was based upon the weakness of the Labour movement in this country. It is no use disguising the melancholy fact that British Labour to-day is impotent and lethargic. A movement that is capable of tolerating the inglorious events of the past few weeks, particularly in the engineering and

relentless that it is destroying Capitalism. Genoa was but another attempt on the part of the various financial cliques to try and settle their differences in order, if possible, to set up an international united front against revolutionary Labour. It failed. And its failure was marked with something more dramatic than anything recorded in the Press. Genoa revealed the weakness and waning power of Capitalism. Genoa, no doubt, also showed that the Soviet Republics were weak. But the weakness of the Capitalist States was due to their old age, their mutual hatreds, and their inability to solve new problems; the weakness of the Soviet Republics was due to their infancy and to an unsuccessful attempt to strangle them. Before the youthful revolutionary Republics lies the future, pregnant with world-wide possibilities, which must bring forth new strength and new hope; their greatness and real power lies ahead of them. With the Capitalist States it is different. Their greatness and real power lies buried behind them; for them the future offers nothing but crises, wars, the revolutionary proletariat, and oblivion.

The Soviet and Genoa

BECAUSE the modern technique is international the Soviet Republics need technical contact with other nations. Until the world-wide masses rise and destroy their Imperialistic exploiters, the proletarian Republics will be compelled to adjust their revolutionary tactics to enable them to get access to those things which are vitally necessary for the economic rebuilding of Russia, but which are, at present, under the domination of Capitalist and Imperialistic groups. This problem of maintaining the Soviet Republics in the midst of Capitalist States was faced squarely at the beginning of the proletarian revolution by the Russian Communists. They made several overtures for an international conference, and they expressed their willingness, in 1918, to go to Prinkipo. The reply of the Entente was a frontal attack which manifested itself in blockades, wars, and subsidised insurrection. In this dastardly work the imperialists were ably assisted by the Second International, which tried to smash the Soviet power by equally foul but more indirect means. Despite the Churchills and the Snowdens, the Curzons and the MacDonalds, the Soviet Republics triumphed over superhuman obstacles at a price which was paid for in the blood of the most dauntless revolutionary fighters the world has ever known. Let the sentimental pacifists of the Labour Party and the I.L.P. ponder over the proletarian blood that they have spilled by their villainous sabotage of the Soviet Republics. Red Russia defeated all these attacks, not only by sacrificing her most valiant members, but by being forced to turn her attention to war when she desired to devote her energies to the great tasks of reconstruction. The Soviet Republics emerged from the crucible of Imperialist wars and Second International treachery in triumph. Her military successes were crowned when she met her Capitalist persecutors face to face and on equal terms at Genoa. But even here it was left to the Second International to add one further crime to its long list of villainies against Russia. At Genoa the Russian delegation would have been a doubly strengthened force if behind it there had been marshalled the organised masses of the world. In spite of Labour appeals from

came in late in the month. The phenomenal circulation of the COMMUNIST REVIEW has compelled the other monthly Labour journals to follow our price and to try and emulate our methods. We are only able to produce such a splendid REVIEW at sixpence because the editorial, translating, literary, and distributing work is a voluntary offering to the movement.

Some of our most enthusiastic distributing agents say that it would assist them in booking orders if they could get an idea what contributors would write for future numbers of the REVIEW. We cannot say who will write for us a few months hence. We can say, however, that every writer of note in the revolutionary movement is on our list. One of our great difficulties is that we don't receive all the articles which are sent us from abroad; the "democratic" censor causes us no end of trouble. Quite recently, Karl Radek, who very much appreciates the COMMUNIST REVIEW, sent us a special article, which got "lost" in the post.

Next month that splendid veteran fighter, Clara Zetkin, will contribute an important article on the need for Labour to make a superhuman effort to combat the imperialistic wars which are at present brewing. Big Bill Haywood will write upon the class struggle in America. J. T. Walton Newbold, the most brilliant authority in this country on the imperialistic operations of high finance, has just completed a most important piece of research work regarding the inner struggles of the moneyed cliques to dominate Asia; he will write this up for us, and it will be an eye-opener. We are also hoping to be able to begin a series of articles by Buharin on "The Economics of the Transitional Period." These are the most important articles on revolutionary tactics that have ever been written. The subject is the most interesting one in the world, and the writer, Buharin, is the most brilliant Marxian scholar in the movement. Abani Mukerji, of the India Communist Party, whose article on the "Moplah Rising" recently appeared in our pages, will deal with the Indian Labour movement. We hope to receive an interesting survey of the Korean revolutionary movement and its relation to the future of the Far East from Kinsic Kim, one of the ablest students of Communism in Korea. This Korean comrade graduated in an American college and returned to Asia, where he was an enthusiastic educationalist. From 1913 to 1919 he was engaged in political work in China and Mongolia; in 1919 he attended the Peace Conference at Paris, and was present at the Washington Conference in an important capacity, and he was also a delegate at the famous Congress of revolutionaries from the Far East recently held at Moscow. His article will be of the utmost importance to English readers, and it will open up new vistas regarding the part that the East will play in the world revolution. This contribution, which will deal with the inside of the Asiatic revolutionary movement, will be reinforced by J. T. Walton Newbold's analysis of the financiers struggle to dominate the Far East. Finally, Comrade T. Bell will write on the "Implications of the Transition Period." This article was prepared by Bell after a detailed study of the new Economic Policy at work in Russia.

Our readers will see from the above outline of the Contents for next month's COMMUNIST REVIEW that our journal is by far the most important monthly organ in the revolutionary movement.

ship-building industries, was certainly not able to compel an astute observer like Lloyd George, to make generous concessions to the Soviet delegates at Genoa. It would seem that the "Black Friday" type of betrayal has become the normal policy for the majority of British trade union leaders, and for the guiding lights of the Second International. Instead of working-class discontent being harnessed into a united front against the Shylock tactics of the Government in its dealings with the Russians at Genoa; or against the devastating policy of sectional unions defeating each other; or against the treatment of the unemployed, and many other vital questions—we find that the Second International is only capable of showing any energy when it deals with such *Morning Post* stunts as the conditions of the social revolutionary prisoners who are at present awaiting trial in Moscow for terroristic crimes against the Soviet Government, and for the murder of well-known Communists. This campaign in the press of the Second International, on behalf of the bomb-throwers of the social revolutionaries, was entered into in order to undermine the splendid impression that the Soviet delegates were making at Genoa upon the masses by their determined resistance to capitalist imperialism.

Very few people in this country are aware that the Russian social revolutionary party is a group that advocates and practices assassination as one of its fundamental policies. This party has adopted every method against the Soviet Government, from recruiting criminals for purposes of pillage, to the murder of prominent Soviet officials. It was the social revolutionary party that tried to assassinate Lenin by shooting at him with poisoned bullets; it has even descended to act as the paid servants of the Entente, and has organised reactionary plots against the Soviet Republics in order to handle imperialist money. This is the precious group that has stirred the Second International to a marvellous activity, and which has even transformed the meek J. Ramsay Macdonald into a bold traducer of the Russian Communists. For the sake of this bunch of anti-social desperadoes, the Second International has shown a willingness to sacrifice every chance of a united front of Labour.

The Second International, by its tactics is neither stupid nor inconsistent. It seeks to turn down the organising of a united Labour front, because this, in action, means an onslaught upon capitalism. By attacking the Soviet Government for daring to defend itself against the bomb-throwing social revolutionaries, the Second International is carrying out its traditional function of being the allies of the capitalist States. Having failed to completely sabotage the Soviets at Genoa, the Macdonalds and the Vanderveldes are hoping to use the imprisoned social revolutionaries in Russia as a pretext for weakening the Soviet delegation at the Hague. Before the Hague Conference begins the Soviet Government will have shown to the world the nature of the criminal gang of venal terrorists whom J. R. Macdonald and the other democratic constitutionalists are so enthusiastically defending.

An Apology and an Explanation

THE editor of the COMMUNIST REVIEW begs to apologise to the many comrades who were unable to obtain repeat orders for the May issue. Despite the fact that we kept the type standing, it was impossible to supply all the orders which

the differences of interest and views of the various groups of the working class come to the front. But, immediately some great event takes place, the profound unity of the proletariat, which has passed through the fires of the revolution, is revealed in all its completeness. We have more than once observed this on the long road from the Czechoslovak mutiny on the Volga, to the Genoa Conference. Our enemies have more than once declared that the Czechoslovak mutiny rendered a service to the Soviet Government. The Mensheviks and the S.R.'s, and their elder brothers, the Millukoff Cadets, frequently declare that intervention is harmful, because it only leads to the strengthening of the Soviet Power. What does this show? It shows that in the hour of trial, in spite of the disorder, in spite of disorganisation and incapacity, in spite of the weariness of some and the dissatisfaction of others, the strong ties between the Soviets and the toiling masses are revealed.

Of course, even a regime that is running counter to the social development of the State, may appear to have become stronger in the hour of danger. We observed this in the first period of the Russo-Japanese war, and, on a still greater scale, at the beginning of the last imperialist war. But this took place only in the first period, while the consciousness of the masses had not yet absorbed the new facts. Later on comes the day of reckoning. The obsolete regime then loses more stability than it gained in the first period of the war. Why is this phenomenon, which has the generality of a law, not observed in the Soviet Republic? Why has three years of experience of intervention induced the more farsighted of our enemies to abandon the idea of military invasion? For the very same reason that the Genoa Conference aroused such enthusiasm among the masses of the workers and led to the unexpected, but enormous success of the May Day demonstration.

Of course the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s were opposed to the demonstration, and called upon the workers to boycott it. But this only the more strikingly reveals the unanimity of the toilers with regard to the fundamental questions affecting the life of the Labour Republic. It may also be said that repressions hindered and still hinders the success of the White socialists propaganda. But their aim is the overthrow of the Soviet Government, and the latter will not permit itself to be overthrown. We do not, by any means, feel called upon to create favourable conditions for their counter-revolutionary struggle.

The bourgeoisie nowhere facilitates the work of the Communists, and yet the revolutionary movement has grown and is growing. Tsarism possessed the mightiest engine of oppression, but that did not prevent its fall. Moreover, these very Mensheviks have probably more than once said and written that Tsarist repression only extended and intensified the revolutionary movement. And this was true. In the first period of the Russo-Japanese war the Tsarist Government managed to organise patriotic demonstrations, but even these were very limited in scope. Very soon after, however, the streets were taken possession of by revolutionary crowds. The repressions argument, therefore, explains nothing, for it gives rise to the question: Why are the repressions successful, and the struggle against them a failure? The reply to this question is: repressions never achieve their aim when they are employed by an obsolete ruling power against new progressive historical forces.

Anyone who would like to become a distributing agent should send his name and address to the Circulation Manager, and if any agent desires to increase his monthly order he should do so at once. By enthusiasm and hard work we doubled our circulation within twelve months. Let us try and beat our previous best efforts. We have the goods; it is up to you to deliver them to the masses.

UP WITH THE COMMUNIST REVIEW!

The Lesson of May Day

By L. TROTSKY

(Translated by J. Fineberg)

THE May Day demonstrations, not only in Petrograd and Moscow, but also in Kharkov, were, in truth, of grandiose dimensions. The organisers of the demonstrations themselves did not expect such an enormous number of demonstrators. Foreigners, including those that are not our friends, were amazed. One of the representatives of the Amsterdam International, in expressing his impressions of the demonstration, said that he had not seen anything like it except at the funeral of Victor Hugo; and he has had occasion to witness many mass demonstrations in various countries in Europe. Of course, the temper of the demonstrators was not equal; some marched with enthusiasm, others came out of sympathy with us, others, again, came out of curiosity, and, finally, there were those who merely followed the crowd. But this is what always happens in a movement that embraces thousands of people. In the main, the enormous crowd felt that it was taking part in some common cause, and, naturally, the tone of the demonstration was given by those who came with enthusiasm.

Already several days before May 1st, the comrades in the localities remarked that it was difficult to imagine the extent to which Genoa had roused the political interest and revolutionary consciousness of the labour masses. Others added that what was particularly observable was a sense of revolutionary pride in that "we had compelled *them* to talk to us as man to man."

If one were to be guided by the White-socialist publications abroad, one would be led to believe that the Russian working class were thoroughly imbued with scepticism, was reactionary, and hostile to the Soviet Government. It is quite possible that not all this correspondence is compiled in Berlin, which is a centre not only of Russian Monarchism, but also of White Socialism. Probably some of it are descriptions from life. But everyone describes life as he sees it, and the Mensheviks, at any rate, see life in a very perverted manner. That there is dissatisfaction in working class districts with various aspects of the present difficult conditions of life, there can be no doubt. We may even admit that the slow rate of development of the European revolution and the ponderous and uneven progress of our economic development, gives rise in some rather considerable, not in the purely proletarian sections of the working class, loss of heart and to some confusion of ideas that transcends into mysticism. On ordinary days—and our great epoch has its ordinary days—the consciousness of the working class is divided on the questions of the given day;

Politics in "The City"

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

I.

THE announcement of the fact that Mr. E. C. Grenfell, partner in Morgan, Grenfell and Co., merchants, of 22, Old Broad Street, E.C., has been elected by an overwhelming majority of votes as the candidate of the City of London Conservative and Unionist Association for the representation of the City of London, in succession to Mr. Arthur J. Balfour, now raised to the Peerage of the United Kingdom as the Earl of Balfour, provokes interest indeed on the part of those who study not the semblance, but the substance of political events. Equally of interest was the comment passed thereon by the *Financial Times* in a special article:—

"If there is one thing the House of Commons has conspicuously lacked during the past three years it has been the presence in it of men who could speak with real financial authority. Finance is perhaps the only interest that is inadequately represented in Parliament. . . . This is a defect in our national legislature which will, at any rate, be remedied if Mr. E. C. Grenfell is elected as member for 'the City.' What Mr. Grenfell does not know about finance, and, about 'big business,' generally, can hardly be worth knowing."

A statement like this, appearing in the columns of a financial organ, owned by the family of Berry, the mushroom millionaire, whose father was political agent to Lord Rhondda when, as D. A. Thomas, M.P., he sat for Merthyr Tydfil, is gratifyingly frank. Mr. E. C. Grenfell is, in its opinion, "a real financial authority." What then are the Goulds, the Davies and the others of the new *bourgeoisie* of Cardiff, who adorn the benches of the present Parliament and who have affiliations with the house of Berry in the realms of company promotion and trust finance? Cannot they speak "with *real* financial authority?"

But this by the way. What we have more in mind is to enquire into the deeper significance of the candidature for Parliament of a banker and of this banker in particular.

"The pulse of English trade," says Mr. Grenfell, "beats through the City of London." With that statement no one will be disposed to quarrel. It is obvious. That the reading of the pulse should be communicated to Parliament by the senior partner in Morgan Grenfell and Co., the London representatives of J. P. Morgan and Co., of New York, is, indeed, symptomatic of the change that has come over British capitalist politics.

We knew that it was J. P. Morgan and Co. who negotiated for the British Government the transfer to American purchasers of American securities bought by the British Government from its own subjects and by means of which payments for munitions required in the Great War were, in large part, made. We did not know, however, that:—

"It was Mr. E. C. Grenfell who first appreciated the huge losses and confusion and bad deliveries that were resulting from the uncontrolled purchases of American supplies and munitions, not

In the hands of a historically progressive power repressions may be a very powerful instrument for the purpose of sweeping the historical arena clean from obsolete forces.

But if the 1st of May demonstration has revealed the deep inherent ties between the toilers and the Soviets, and in passing, has exposed the complete powerlessness of the White socialist parties, does this not prove that repressions are unnecessary? Should we not grant legality to feebleness, even if it is a deadly enemy of the proletarian revolution? This question must be replied to with the greatest possible clearness. If the celebration of the 1st of May was the same in all countries, the question of repressions would not arise at all. The position would be the same if Russia was the only country in the world. But the reason why the workers so unanimously came out on the streets of Moscow, Petrograd, Kharkov, and Kiev, on the 1st of May, was precisely because they, through Genoa, more clearly than ever, saw Russia as *their* Worker and Peasant Russia, which for four years had stood out against a score of bourgeois states. Within the limits of Russia the Mensheviks and S.R.'s are a negligible quantity but, on an international scale, the relation of forces are somewhat different, for everywhere in Europe and in the whole world, the bourgeoisie are in power and Menshevism is its political transmitting mechanism.

Russian Menshevism is a negligible quantity, but it is the lever of a still powerful system, the driving power of which are the London, Paris, and New York Stock Exchanges. This was revealed with unusual clearness in connection with the question of Georgia. Led by Vandervelde, the Mensheviks demanded nothing more nor less than the restoration of Menshevik Georgia. The most reactionary of political profiteers, Barthou, demanded that the former Menshevik Government of Georgia be permitted to attend the Genoa Conference. This very same Barthou is keeping the Wrangel detachments in reserve in the event of it being necessary to make a landing on the Caucasian coast. At the bottom of the whole thing is the striving of the Stock Exchange for the Caucasian oil.

Within the limits of Russia the Mensheviks and S.R.'s are insignificant, but within a capitalist environment they have been and remain a semi-political, semi-military agency of Imperialism armed to the teeth. After a prolonged period of quiet everyday existence, Genoa clearly and dramatically revealed the contradiction between Soviet Russia and the rest of the world. And it was because of this that the toilers rallied unanimously under the banner of the Soviets. In this grand gesture they revealed the revolutionary power of the Republic, but it also revealed its surrounding dangers. There are no fronts and military operations to-day, but we are still a besieged fortress. Our enemies have given us an armistice and have invited us to send our parliamentaires for negotiations. Our enemies have tried us and have found that we are as far off from capitalism as ever we were. But our enemies are still strong, and therefore the dangers are still great. This is the lesson of the 1st of May: while justifiably conscious of our strength, nevertheless, we must not for a single moment slacken our vigilance.

Street. The Grenfells were in "the City." Between them passed millions upon millions of moneys to find employment in the development of "God's Own Country" of the United States.

In 1868, Morgans established a house in Paris under the name of Morgan, Harjes and Co. Their power there was founded doubtless on their action—

"In 1870 when France lay helpless under the German invader and Paris was isolated and the prospects about as black and uncertain as they could be, and Messrs. Rothschild had definitely turned down an appeal for help, the firm of J. S. Morgan raised a loan for the Government of National Defence at Tours."

—(*Financial Times*, 3/5/22.)

To-day, Morgan, Harjes and Co. are in close touch with Schneider-Creusot, and are deeply interested in promoting the activities of that concern, aiming, as they do, at the progressive acquisition of the coal and iron resources of bankrupt Europe. J. P. Morgan and Co. are, of course, the power behind the United States Steel Corporation and behind the great General Electric Co. of Schenectady, who stand back of the Thomson-Houston firms at Rugby, in France, and in Italy. Morgans are, also, all-powerful in the Pullman Company and in the International Harvester Company, as well as in the Baldwin Locomotive Company. They are, in fact, financiers to concerns laying no intention of seeing Germany and Britain railroad and machine Russia into prosperity unaided—or unchecked.

Morgans are also, through Morgan, Grenfell and Co., very influential in India and the British East. They have close connections with the Sassoons. They are represented in the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Bank on one side of the Earth and in the Hudson Bay Co. on the other.

Mr. E. C. Grenfell's cousin, Lord Desborough, is president of the British Imperial Chamber of Commerce. In every sense, the Grenfells can be taken as predominant in English economic and political life. They are Conservatives. They stand for that new policy of subordinating Britain to the idealism of the United States and the advantage of France, which has become so evident in the new orientation of Coalition policy, and has caused such profound distress to British Industrialism and the National Liberals whose standard bearer is the hero of Cannes and the victim of Genoa—Mr. Lloyd George. We speak advisedly of English Imperialism and of British industrialism, because the latter is, characteristically, Scottish in its *personnel*. Its prototypes are Lord Inchcape, the great shipowner, and Lord Aberconway, the great coal-master.

The Grenfells are Conservatives. The Morgans are, and have been, Republicans. Once they tilted the balance so that the United States was the client of "the City." Now, they adjust it so that Britain shall be the client of Wall Street.

The course of politics in the City throughout the entire *bourgeois* period, affords a striking illustration, a startling confirmation, of our Marxist view of the underlying facts of social and political history.

II.

Finance and Politics

We cannot, in an article of this character, follow that struggle of economic interests, which is the history of politics in the City of

only by all the Allied Governments in competition with one another, but by nearly every department in every Government. He diagnosed the evil and prescribed the right remedy, and eventually, as the result of his hammering persistence, it was adopted and all allied buyings were placed under a single directing organisation. . . . That was a genuine and an invaluable achievement of commercial statesmanship. Mr. Grenfell supplemented it . . . by taking personal charge of the preliminaries for the huge offerings, running to some £400,000,000, of British Government securities that were made in the United States through J. P. Morgan and Co."—(*Financial Times*, 3/5/22.).

Mr. E. C. Grenfell, like his father and his grandfather, before him, is a Director of the Bank of England. His great-grandfather was "Governor of the Royal Exchange—then the blue riband of commerce—and was as much to the fore in politics as in the City."

The Grenfells are of Cornish origin, and it was as proprietors of tin and copper mines in the early nineteenth century that they came into the forefront. To-day, as for half a century, they constitute the very cream of the mercantile community. They belong to the same social order as the Barings, the Glynns, the Mills, the Gibbs, the Hoares, and others of the great ones who got in on "the ground floor" of 19th century investment in home and foreign railways, land and mortgage companies and the like. They are British to the backbone. They have no apparent affiliations with the Semitic elements who came hither in successive waves of immigration from Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Frankfurt-on-Main. They made their wealth in trade not so much in bullion, in stocks and shares, as in dry goods. They dealt in textiles and their trade was with the United States rather than with Europe and with South Africa and with Australasia.

The house of Morgan, Grenfell and Co. took its origin in 1838 as Geo. Peabody and Co. Peabody had been a dry goods merchant in that street of dry goods dealers—Wall Street, New York City. Thence, he had come to London, and had transacted business for the United States Government and, thereafter, had placed Maryland bonds on the British market. From 1843, he devoted all his attention to merchant banking and made his home a general *rendez-vous* for Americans visiting this country. He took into partnership Cubitt Gooch, an influential London business man and railway magnate, and, later, promoted Julius Spencer Morgan to be a member of the firm.

In 1861, Peabody was appointed as the financial agent of the Federal Government in London, and, as such, minted money to the detriment, so it was alleged, of his country. In 1864, Peabody retired, and the firm became known as J. S. Morgan and Co. In 1871, the family of Drexel, cotton brokers of Philadelphia, were brought into the Morgan alliance, and, thus, with the aid of these powerful agents of the English stockholders in the Pennsylvania Railroad Co.—a line running through the heart of the coal and iron tract of Pennsylvania, the Morgans began to build up an immense monetary power all the way from New York and Philadelphia to Chicago, and so throughout the United States. The Morgans and the Grenfells took the moneys of the British landed and mercantile classes and put them into what were, for the most part, secure investments. The Morgans were on Wall

three to one or two of each at election after election, till the Reform Bill. In 1832, it returned three Whigs and a Radical banker, the historian, Grote. In 1835, it returned four Liberals, one of whom was the Governor of the Bank of England. In 1837, again four Liberals were elected. In 1841, two Conservatives and two Liberals got in. One Conservative was Masterman, a banker, and the other was the chairman of the East India Company. One of the Liberals was Lord John Russell, then the leader of the Party in the House of Commons. Two years later, Sir Thomas Baring stood as a Tory and was defeated. We learn that his brother had been Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Whig, Melbourne.

In 1847, the house of Rothschild, the unceasing antagonist of the Barings, the house for ever "bearing" the loans that Barings floated and selling dear the bullion required for those loans, put the coping stone upon its economic success, by the return of its senior partner Baron Lionel N. de Rothschild as Liberal Member for the City of London. For the next twenty-one years, almost without interruption, Rothschild sat for "the City." Rothschilds, Montefiores, Goldsmids—bullion merchants and international bankers, grown prosperous over half a century and abundantly rich during the times of peace and of reaction—they were the main-stay of the Liberal Party. Then, in 1863, appeared a new figure, another financier of note, George Joachim Goschen, of Fruhling and Goschen. He also, was a Liberal and remained as the representative for "the City" until 1880. Goschen was a director of the Bank at the time of his election, and two years later was made vice-President of the Board of Trade. He became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1887.

The Goschens may be said to typify that section of the Liberal financiers who orientated towards Conservatism, and, under the influence of their overseas investments, became Imperialists and Unionists. To-day the Goschens are so ubiquitous in British capitalism, that one is tempted to describe the Empire as "the land of Goschen." They are credited with belonging to the Rothschild group.

In 1891, another director of the Bank, this time a Conservative, viz., H. H. Gibbs, of Antony Gibbs and Sons, merchants, was put forward by the Governor and his nomination seconded by the Deputy Governor of the Bank of England. He was elected and sat till 1892, when he was succeeded by his son, who remained M.P. until 1906, when he retired to enable Mr. Balfour, the leader of his Party, defeated at East Manchester, to secure a safe seat.

In the period when "the City" was Liberal, the bankers—the Bank of England interest—offered a seat to the leader of their Party—Lord John Russell. In the period when "the City" was Conservative, these bankers offered a seat to the leader of the Conservatives, Mr. A. J. Balfour. Throughout the period, up to 1906, there has generally been a director of the Bank sitting for "the City."

In the period of the financial supremacy of the merchants in dry goods; in the period of Free Trade, Rothschild sat for "the City." In the period when the merchants were putting money into the Near East, into India and Egypt, Turkey and China, Goschen sat for "the City." In the period when South American investment was all the rage, one of the South American merchants, one of the

London, across the centuries from those early days when the purveyors to the Court and the Church, notably the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers, held sway at the Guildhall. We cannot describe the warring interests which, in the 17th century, played their part in the Civil War, the Restoration and the "Revolution." We must hurry by the contending factions respectively agitating in the interests of the East India Company or of the Bank of England. We must leave for the present, the secret history of Whig finance and of Whig and Tory political intrigue in the years after the Amsterdam Jews followed Dutch William across the sea, to make the London Stock Exchange their particular haunt, to inspire and to control the Bank and to worm their way, to the number of more than two hundred and fifty holders, into the stock list of the United East India Company.

We can only commence seriously to study the financial influences in the City when the Whig oligarchy and the directing minds of the expansionist wars of the 18th century had induced to settle amongst us the da Costas, the Mocattas, the Pereiras, the Goldsmids, the Henriques, the Montefiores and others of the Portuguese Jews who thronged the Exchange and who traded in bills and bullion in the orbits of West and East India commerce. These brokers, with their connections, here, there, and everywhere, acquired immense influence in the first three-quarters of the 18th century. Thereafter, perhaps because of the rise of the Scottish merchants in the financial scale and because of the commercial expansion which was lifting the wool, linen and corn factors and their banking allies above the level of mere shop-keepers, the Dutch Jews became, for a while, less conspicuous. The occupation of Holland by the armies of Revolutionary and Bonapartist France cut the communications between Amsterdam and London. Pitt turned to a group of bankers, of merchant bankers, more English in their connections, and more national in their sympathies. This was the period when the great house of Baring came right into the very forefront. Sir Francis Baring became Governor of the East India Company, and a great figure in the Bank. He established connections with Hope and Co., the great Scottish family, established as bankers in Amsterdam, and sent his son from there to Philadelphia, where, marrying a Bingham, he wove the fortunes of Baring into the very texture of Pennsylvania economy.

In 1818, the Duc de Richelieu exclaimed:—

"There are six great powers in Europe—England, France, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Baring Brothers."

They were, at this time, floating loans for the Allies (and for France), not now for war, but for reconstruction. They were fabulously rich and were, in the next decade, to avail themselves of the Monroe Doctrine and the policy of its real author, Canning, the Tory Foreign Minister, who fashioned Conservatism in the interests of the Barings and their kind, to pour millions of their own and their clients' money into South America, whose people revolted against Spain with the approval of the English merchants to whom nationalism and political independence of Madrid meant financial independence of Paris and dependence on London.

The Barings, however, potent as they were in the politics of the Exchanges, belonged to the wrong party to make headway in "the City." London returned Whigs and Tories in the proportion of

The question now is: what concession has the international bourgeoisie given in return? There can only be one answer to that: None, whatsoever!

Only considerations which have for their purpose to blur over the pure truth of the class struggle, only those who throw dust into the eyes of the workers and the toiling masses, could attempt to blur this obvious truth. In the agreement signed in Berlin by the representatives of the three Internationals, we have made two political concessions to the international bourgeoisie, and we have got nothing in return.

The representatives of the Second and Two and a-half Internationals played the part of extortioners, wresting political concessions from the proletariat for the bourgeoisie, and absolutely refusing to carry out or attempt to wrest any concessions from the international bourgeoisie for the proletariat. Naturally this undoubted fact was well cloaked over by the cunning representatives of bourgeois diplomacy. (The bourgeoisie has taught its class representatives to be good diplomats during many decades.) But the attempt to cloud over the fact does not alter the fact. Directly or indirectly, the representatives of the Second and Two and a-half Internationals were linked with the international bourgeoisie. In this case the question is of minor importance. We do not accuse them of being in direct relation. That has nothing to do with the question, whether there was a direct relation or an indirect entanglement. What is important is that the Communists made a political concession to the international bourgeoisie under the pressure of the representatives of the Second and Two and a-half Internationals, and received nothing in return.

What is the conclusion? The conclusion is first of all that Comrades Radek and Bucharin and others who represented the Communist International have acted incorrectly.

Does it follow that we have to repudiate the agreement? No! I think that such a conclusion would be incorrect. We must not repudiate the signed agreement. The only thing we have to admit is that the bourgeois diplomats have proved themselves far more expert than ours. And in the future, if we do not agree beforehand upon the price of admission into the meeting place, we will have to bargain and manoeuvre more adroitly. We will have to make it our objective not to make any political concessions to the international bourgeoisie (no matter how artfully those concessions may be disguised), unless we receive in return concessions more or less equivalent on the part of the bourgeoisie with regard to Soviet Russia, or any other section of the international proletariat that struggles against the capitalists.

It is possible that the Italian Communists and a section of the French Communists and Syndicalists, who are opposed to the tactics of the united front, will on account of these considerations come to the conclusion that the tactic of the united front is proved false. This conclusion will be incorrect. If the Communist representatives have paid too much for admission into the building in which they have some chance, though not a big one, of addressing the workers who are up to now in the exclusive "possession" of the Reformists, we have only to try and rectify this mistake in future. But it would be a still greater mistake not to now accept the conditions, in order that we may penetrate into the well-

Gibbs family, took up the appropriate role of Member for "the City."

To-day, when J. P. Morgan and Co. are the creditors of the entire Empire, their London representative, fitly and properly, goes to Imperial Parliament, as a symbol that economic power is the basis of political power. That is the historic significance of the candidature and election of Edward Charles Grenfell.

We Have Paid Too Much

Regarding the Berlin Agreement

By LBNIN

IMAGINE that the representatives of the Communists had to penetrate into a place in which the agents of the bourgeoisie carry on propaganda before a well attended meeting of workers. And imagine to yourself further that the bourgeoisie demands a high price for admission. If the price was not fixed beforehand, we would have to bargain in order not to overtax the funds of our Party. If we pay too much for admission, we will undoubtedly commit a mistake. But it is better to pay more, especially while we have not learnt to bargain, rather than deny ourselves the possibility of appearing before those workers who are so far in "the possession" of the reformists, that is, the most faithful friends of the bourgeoisie.

This comparison occurred to me when I read in to-day's *Pravda* the telegraphic account of the conditions of the agreement arrived at by the three Internationals in Berlin. Our representatives, in my opinion, did not act rightly in agreeing to the two following conditions:—

- (1) That the Soviet Government should not apply the death sentence in the case of the 47 Social Revolutionaries on trial.
- (2) That the Soviet Power should allow the representatives of the three Internationals to be present at the trial.

These two conditions are nothing less than a political compromise which the revolutionary proletariat has made to the reactionary bourgeoisie.

If anyone doubts the correctness of such a definition it is only necessary, in order to expose his political naivete, to put to him the question whether the English or any other modern Government would agree to allow the representatives of the three Internationals at the trial of the Irish rebels, or at the trials of the workers in the South African insurrection. Would the English or any other bourgeois Government agree not to apply the death sentence to its political enemies? We do not need to ponder much in order to grasp the following simple truth: That we have going on before us throughout the entire world, a struggle between the reactionary bourgeoisie and the revolutionary proletariat. In this case the Communists, representing one side in this struggle, have made concessions to the other side, that is, the reactionary bourgeoisie. Because everyone knows (except those who wish to conceal the truth), that the Social Revolutionaries shot at Communists and organised uprisings against them, acting practically and sometimes formally in one united front with the entire reactionary bourgeoisie.

The Fall of the Commune of Paris

By R. W. POSTGATE

FOREWORD.

In the following remarkable story—based upon the account previously given in the Special Commune number of the COMMUNIST last year—the author reminds us of many important lessons which may be gleaned by a study of the Paris Commune. Comrade R. W. Postgate needs no introduction to readers of the COMMUNIST REVIEW. His brilliant survey of revolutionary documents which appear in his now famous volume on Revolution, together with his numerous other historical essays, reveal him as a writer and student of worthy achievement. In the following study of the Fall of the Commune of Paris he compresses into small space much of what he has already written on this important subject.—ED., COMMUNIST REVIEW.

FIFTY-ONE years ago, in the afternoon of Monday, May 29th, 1871, a detachment of regular troops left one of the east gates of Paris. It covered quickly the short distance to the large fort of Vincennes, over whose roofs a Red Flag was waving. There was some parleying for a moment when it reached the main gates. Then they were flung open, the blue uniforms passed inside. A few minutes later the Red Flag dipped and ran down the staff. In its place, slowly, and by jerks, the tricolor, red, white, and blue, climbed the pole. Later, as evening was falling, a smaller party left the fort and entered the fosse. In their midst were some men with staring red rosettes or ribbons in their lapels. These they stood up against the wall: the sharp rattle of a volley fire was heard and they were left dead or dying.

This was the end of an epic: the last act in the tragedy, fittingly enough celebrated by the victors by another murder. The fort that fell was the last fort of the Commune of Paris: the nine officers that were killed were the last remnant of the Communard Army. Days before the war had ended in Paris: and the flag that was run down at Vincennes was not to fly again for fifty years. The first struggle between the bourgeoisie and the workers was over and had ended in defeat for the latter.

The origins of the Commune go back to the last days of the Empire of Napoleon III. If we had been in Paris in the year 1870, we should at first have observed no opposition except that of the Republican deputies and the traditional Republican groups. The large financiers and the few representatives of "modern industry" were at one with the peasants in supporting the Bonapartes. Opposed to them under the one standard of the Republic were the small bourgeoisie and the workers, apparently a united body. Further investigation, however, would have shown us that there were in reality some deep divisions, and the sectarian groups which expressed them arose from the working class. They were two—the Blanquists, a secret armed society led by L. A. Blanqui, which distrusted the official republicans and prepared for an armed rising to overturn the Empire and substitute a Republic, which, like the Soviets in 1917, would not institute Socialism so much as turn the development of society in that direction. The second, non-political in theory, was the International, whose headquarters were in London, and whose leading spirit was Karl Marx. This society in France was really an immense Trade Union, and its liveliest branches

guarded enclosure. The mistake of Comrades Radek, Buchagin and others is not great. Still less is it such by reason of the fact that the accounts of the Berlin Conference will encourage the enemies of Soviet Russia to perpetrate a few assassinations against certain personalities, because they know beforehand that they can shoot at Communists, with the assurance that Conferences like this one will interfere with the Communists shooting them. At any rate, we have made a breach in the closed building. And Comrade Radek at least succeeded to show before a section of the workers that the Second International refused to adopt the slogan of the repeal of the Versailles Treaty. The greatest mistake of the Italian Communists and a section of the French Communists and Syndicalists is that they are satisfied with the knowledge which they have. They are satisfied with what they know well—that the representatives of the Second and Two and a-half Internationals and also Messrs. Levi and Serrati and their ilk, are the most cunning representatives of the bourgeoisie and the promoters of its influence. But those people and those workers who know this firmly and understand its meaning, are undoubtedly the minority in Italy, England, America and France. The Communists must not stew in their own juice. They must learn so to act as to stop at no sacrifice, not to be afraid of mistakes in starting something new and difficult in order to penetrate into the closed building, where the influence of the representatives of the bourgeoisie is being disseminated among the workers. The Communists who do not want to understand and who do not want to learn this cannot expect to win the majority of the working class. In any event, they make it more difficult, and retard the winning of the majority. And this is an unpardonable thing to do for all Communists and all true followers of the Workers' Revolution. The bourgeoisie, in the person of its diplomats, proved more cunning than the representatives of the Communist International. Such was the lesson of the Berlin Conference. We shall never forget this lesson. From this lesson we shall draw the necessary conclusions. The representatives of the Second and Two and a-half Internationals need a united front because they hope to weaken us by huge concessions on our part. They are trying to break into our Communist building without any pay. They hope through this tactic of the united front, to convince the workers of the righteousness of reformist and the falseness of revolutionary tactics. We need a united front because we hope to convince the workers to the contrary. The mistakes of our Communist representatives we will put on their shoulders and on the parties who made those mistakes. And we shall try to learn from these mistakes, and seek to avoid them in future. But we shall never allow the mistakes of our delegates to be put on the proletarian masses, which stand the whole world over under the pressure of the attacks of the capitalists. In order to help the masses in their struggle against capitalist oppression, in order to help them to understand the "shrewd mechanism of the two fronts running through the entire international economy, the entire field of international politics, for that we adopted the tactic of the united front, and we will carry it out to the end."—*Pravda*, 11th April, 1922.

spire had caught up and was ringing the tocsin. There echoed about the foot of the hill the dull murmur of drums, beaten to call the National Guard together, bugles sounded throughout the district. In squares and streets around the heights, National Guard were hastily running up, putting on their accoutrements as they came, and forming into line. Round the troops of Lecomte was gathering a growing crowd of spectators, mostly women and children.

Gradually the crowd approached closer. With it came up the National Guards. Twice Lecomte was able to drive them back by drawing up his men as though for a charge. But they returned. At last, some of the ranks were broken by the crowd. Frightened, the General gave the order to charge, this time in earnest. There was a moment's anxious hesitation. The women of the crowd implored the soldiers: "Would you shoot us—our husbands—our children?" The officers threatened them. Suddenly a sergeant's voice called: "Put up your arms!" That did it. The soldiers put up their arms, the crowd rushed in, the National Guard fraternised with the Line. In a moment, like a black wave, the Revolution had taken Montmartre. It was nine o'clock.

Lecomte was surrounded by an angry crowd of soldiers and civilians. He was saved for the moment and taken to the Chateau Rouge. Meanwhile, the rest of the 88th, down below the heights, had gone over. Vinoy, in command of the mass of the troops, lost his nerve, and ordered a complete retirement to the other side of the Seine, to the Champs de Mars in the far south-west of Paris.

An order had been signed by the Montmartre Vigilance Committee to transfer Lecomte and his officers to the guardroom at 18, Rue des Rosiers, Montmartre. The prisoners were taken thither accompanied by a vast howling crowd, no longer of the working class, but of prostitutes and idlers—the worst and cruellest dregs of Paris. A like crowd, nearly a hundred years before, had shrieked for the blood of the King, delighted in the death of the Girondins, of Hebert, of Danton, and of Robespierre. The same crowd which now yelled for Lecomte's death two months later called for the blood of the Communards. More and more the officers of the National Guard were hard pressed to save Lecomte. Ill fortune brought them another prisoner, old Clement Thomas, who had aided in the repression of the revolt of June, 1848, and was now arrested on suspicion. After some hours of uproar, in the afternoon the crowd, among whom were many soldiers of the 88th, broke in and killed Lecomte and Thomas. As if frightened by its own brutality, the crowd then melted away, leaving the lesser officers unharmed.

The retreat of Vinoy and the collapse of the attack on Montmartre had thrown the Government into panic. By nightfall every member of the Government, except one, had fled from Paris, leaving behind instructions to the officials to disorganise every department, and to follow to Versailles. The one member who remained, Jules Ferry, sat tight at the Hotel de Ville and was able, with the aid of the Mayors of the *arrondissements* (districts like our London boroughs) to form for a day a centre of counter-revolution.

In default of aid, however, the flying Government sent plenty of advice and proclamations. It nominated a new commander of

were in fact local trade societies. Yet it had certain political ideals: it was Socialist and mistrusted the bourgeois Republicans and hoped for a workers' Republic.

When, after the crash of Sedan, the official Republicans took power, these dissenting bodies became of importance. We must cut short the history of the Franco-Prussian war and the siege of Paris. Suffice it that the new Republicans showed as great incompetence as the old Imperialists, and an even greater suspicion of the revolutionary workers. Two vain attempts at revolt were made by the latter, but in the end the Republicans made a virtual surrender to the Germans on January 27th, 1871.

A new Assembly was elected. While Paris returned revolutionaries or semi-revolutionaries, the Provinces elected monarchists. The new Government was chosen by the monarchists and headed by Thiers. Before long this Assembly and Paris had come into conflict. Most serious of all was the Parisian workers' refusal to accept the new Bonapartist General appointed to command the democratically-organised defence of Paris, the National Guard.

Feeling that the moment was approaching, Thiers prepared for his great stroke. The National Guard of Paris, the sole Republican armed force, possessed a great park of artillery on the heights of Montmartre. The guns belonged to Paris, and had been rescued by the alertness of the Guard from the Prussians, when the Government was about to let them be handed over under the armistice.

These guns Thiers proposed to seize. Without them, and with his soldiers in possession of the heights, the National Guard would be militarily only of the value of a police force. But it would be sufficiently infuriated to cause some disturbance, and then, with every card in his hands, Thiers could batter the Republican forces of Paris into pieces.

Therefore, on the night of the 17th and 18th March, General Vinoy, a Bonapartist relic, was put in charge of an expedition against Paris. He himself, with the bulk of the army, was to occupy the western half of Paris. General Lecomte was then to occupy the heights of Montmartre and seize the artillery, guarded night and day by the National Guard. For this purpose he was given the 88th Regiment of the Line and some auxiliaries.

The Eighteenth of March

The heights of Montmartre rise sharply from the general level of Paris. The 88th of the Line, under the orders of General Lecomte, toiled painfully up in the early morning of the 18th. They broke in upon the few and unsuspecting National Guards and took both the upper and lower plateau at the point of the bayonet. There was scarcely any resistance, and by six o'clock the whole of the heights were in Lecomte's hands. The famous cannon were captured. Scarcely anyone was about on this cold, fine March morning, and it seemed that the coup would be successful and the cannon be carried through the silent streets to Vinoy's headquarters.

But the cannon were very heavy, and horses and gun carriages lacking. The moving of the guns to the foot of the heights went on very slowly. The sun was rising, and a few people appeared in the streets. Among them were some National Guards who had escaped during the surprise. At half past seven the silence was suddenly broken by a frantic ringing of church bells. Soon every

and 1793—the strong revolutionary organ of all the poorer classes of Paris, which had torn down the King and erected the Republic, which had purged the Convention of Girondins, and throughout the critical years had led and made the Revolution. Again and again, it had overturned and broken down the power of reaction and the moneyed classes. It was this body which Paris was calling back to life—a power which should turn upon the enthroned reaction, the money power represented by the Thiers Government, and snap it like a brittle stick, as the old Commune on the 10th of August, 1792, had broken for ever the French Monarchy.

This idea had taken hold of all classes. But a new idea was in the minds of the majority of the Communards, and that idea, the future showed, was the essence of the Commune, and all that was vital and dangerous in it. The rest was Republican and decentralist sentimentalism, mere historical dreaming. The new idea was that the Commune was the Workers' Republic. All the working class of Paris, and the small shopkeepers and working employers who were still in the proletarian environment, felt that the workers had taken their fate into their own hands. At the very beginning, on March 20th, the *Journal Officiel* wrote:—

"The proletarians of the capital, in the midst of the failure and treason of the governing classes, have realised that the hour has arrived for them to save the situation by taking over the direction of public affairs. . . . The proletariat, in the face of the permanent threat to its rights, of the absolute refusal of its legitimate aspirations, and of the ruin of the country and all its hopes, understood that it was its imperative duty and absolute right to take its destiny into its own hands and ensure victory by seizing power."

This was the Commune—the seizure of power by the workers. This is what made it great and dangerous to the governing class. It is for this that it lives and is remembered in history.

So, on March 26th, when the Commune was proclaimed, a great wave of happiness and relief swept over Paris. Rarely have such scenes been witnessed as were seen in the square of the Hotel de Ville that day. The delirious enthusiasm spread even to the bourgeoisie. Worker and employer rejoiced together. Old men who had seen '48 were weeping silently. Young men, women and children—all were radiant. The flowers scattered, the red flags dipping and waving, the singing crowds, the maddening pulse of the "Marseillaise,"—there was something in all this that gave the feeling of a great freedom, a new life. Spies reported to Versailles that Paris was "mad with the Commune." It was true. Paris felt that an old oppressing tyranny had been broken; she felt that rare joy of a revolutionary moment, when the old and evil weight is cast aside, and for a moment all is possible when there is a vision or a feeling of the future which compensates for past and coming sufferings and intoxicates like wine. Such a moment comes to few, and rarely. It had come before in Paris—on the night of August 10th, 1792, when the Tuileries had been stormed and the King had fallen, or on February 25th, 1848, when the last Bourbon had taken to his heels. This spirit, in our days, has been felt in Petrograd in the March of 1917, when the Tsar fell; in Budapest in the first days of the Soviet Republic; it even touched, for a fleeting moment, Berlin on a November day four years ago.

the National Guard, Saisset, and called upon the Parisians to rally round him. But these and other acts only called attention to its own nullity; the only real non-revolutionary power lay with the group of Mayors, whom Ferry left to themselves next day.

Yet the Government had run from its own shadow. There was really no central direction on the other side to be afraid of. The defeat of Vinoy, the death of Lecomte and the rout of the Government, had not been the work of the Central Committee of the National Guard. The rank and file of the National Guard had assembled spontaneously. The Committee only gave the most general orders to their own Commandant-in-chief, Lullier, and did not see to their execution. Thus, he failed to close the gates, disperse the few counter-revolutionary groupings, or seize Fort Mont Valerien, which commanded the western side of Paris, and was re-occupied by Government troops. Not until the 20th or 21st did the Committee realise that it was sole governor of Paris. It was still so oppressed by its own incompetence and lack of constitutional authority, that it permitted itself to be deluded by the Mayors, who were gaining time for the Government. It entered into negotiations with them to arrange for the election of a Paris municipal body; it attached such importance to their assent that they were able to delay this election till March 26th.

Till that date, the Committee did nothing. Meanwhile, Thiers was carefully collecting an army. He concentrated his untrustworthy troops into a large camp at Salory, from which civilians were banished. It was hardly possible for an ordinary man to approach it. Inside, the soldiers were well fed and treated and subjected to careful propaganda. Moreover, he went to Bismarck, who was still occupying northern France to the very walls of Paris, and secured from him relays of prisoners from Napoleon's army to supplement the attack on Paris.

On March 26th the Paris municipality was elected. It had a crushing revolutionary majority, and took the name of the Commune.

What was the Commune?

What did the Commune mean? What was the challenge this name involved?

It was not, as the proclamation of a Soviet would be to-day, an absolutely clear-cut and certain defiance to the ruling class. It implied no such clear, detailed and elaborate revolt as the word "Soviet" does. It was still vague. "Commune" was, and still is, a respectable French bourgeois word. It means an Urban or Rural District Council, and as such is part of the French State machinery. Legally, therefore, the proclamation of the "Commune" might have meant only the assumption by Paris of the ordinary municipal autonomy, which had previously been denied her. Anarchists have been found who claimed that this demand, together with the broader scheme of decentralisation outlined later, was the real essence of the Commune. Such an argument is entirely misleading. A dispute about details of local government is not a possible basis for a revolution. Historians who write and think in such terms have missed their vocation.

First and foremost, to both the workers and smaller middle class, who rallied to it, the Commune meant the great Commune of 1792

his followers were without any leader. The grave faults of his organisation at once came out. No one could take the place of Blanqui, and, incapable of any regular policy, the Blanquists drifted. They carried out small coups and showed isolated instances of vigour, but were unable to follow any general policy. They were lieutenants without a general. Their greatest anxiety was to recover Blanqui; they offered to Thiers to exchange for Blanqui all the hostages in the hands of the Commune, but Thiers, prudently enough, refused.

The vacillations of the Blanquists were made worse by the mass of the Commune members, who were accustomed to look to the old leaders of '48 for guidance. The Commune was essentially a chance and haphazard assembly of working class representatives. If we were to-day to take a haphazard assembly of workers' delegates, hastily elected without the chance of sifting or of organisation, we should undoubtedly find them a "mixed lot." There would be probably one or two actual scoundrels, a sprinkling of foreigners, a number of steady and honest workers of but second-rate abilities, a disproportionate number of mere talkers, and a few who by their ability and courage were able to impress themselves on the assembly. Such exactly was the Commune. There were in it one or two whose characters were not above suspicion. An ex-forgery, Blanchet, was expelled, and of two others it is suspected that they had been police spies. There were a few foreigners. The mass of the Commune members were working men of solid worth, but they were completely under the influence of the mere talkers, of whom Felix Pyat may stand as the type. The stock-in-trade, rather than the policy, of these men was only the memory of 1793, and their only resource an imitation of those days.

The members of the International, who mostly belonged to the minority, were in some ways more "realist" than the rest, though they were called dreamers. The International, in 1870 a strong trade union federation, found that the unions had disappeared during the siege. It was, consequently, reduced to reliance upon its political "sections," which in Paris had not become strong or typical of the International till 1871. The programme of the International was the handing over of capitalist industry to autonomous workers' associations, arising out of the trade unions (it has been rediscovered in England under the title of Guild Socialism), while the political state was to be a decentralised Republic. The International was, indeed, too pre-occupied with its ideal State to realise the supremacy of the demands of the Department of War.

In among the members of the Commune were scattered one or two who were fully competent for their duties, such as Delescluze or Varlin. But these few heroic men could not possibly raise the members of the Commune up to their own level. The incompetence and vacillation of the Commune stands out in startling relief from the heroism and self-sacrifice of the rank and file of the National Guard.

It is not surprising to find, therefore, that there is little to record concerning the Commune's general policy. Two manifestoes which were issued to the provinces contained little but emotional appeals. The "programme" passed by the Commune confined itself strictly to the decentralist theories mentioned above.

Such was the feeling in Paris in the first days of the Commune. There are few living now who can remember it, but they have always cherished the memory of what Valles called *les grands jours, les jours de la Commune*, and something of the enthusiasm of those days has been handed down to us.

But rejoicing could not last for ever. Thiers was preparing his army, and on April 2nd it was ready. He turned his guns on Paris that day. That day, too, occurred the first battle between the Federals, as the National Guards were called, and the Versailles, as the troops of Thiers were named. Next day the Commune replied by a grand sortie, which met with disaster and defeat due, not to the rank and file but to the utter incompetence of the generals. From that day, April 3rd, Paris and Versailles settled down to a grinding and bloody trench warfare. Along all the western walls of Paris the battle was fought relentlessly day by day, and day by day the Communards were more outnumbered.

The fiasco of April 3rd was followed by the appointment of Cluseret to command the whole Guard. He was supposed to have distinguished himself in the American Civil War. Be that as it may, Cluseret destroyed the Commune. He simply failed to attend to his duties—to relieve regiments in the field, to provide munitions and supervise contractors, to organise the defence. He did nothing, and what little he could have done was defeated by the interference of the re-elected Central Committee, which claimed to issue orders without consulting him.

Twenty-seven days of this folly nearly destroyed the Communard Army. On April 30th Cluseret was arrested, and a young officer named Rossel took his place. Now some beginnings of organisation were made. The front was divided up under three competent generals: munitions were organised. But on May 9th the fort of Issy fell: Rossel made an attempt at a coup d'état against the Commune, failed and fled. Delescluze, a veteran enemy of Blanqui, but a Blanquist in ideas, took over in a vain attempt to reduce the War Department to order.

Inside the Commune

From March the 26th, two months elapsed before the Commune fell. So it had had time to outline a general policy and to begin, clumsily and hesitatingly, the creation of a workers' state.

Inside the Commune there was a majority and a minority. Very roughly, these were composed of the Blanquists, plus the romantic Republicans, and the International respectively. The members of the International, together with the rest of the minority, were not opposed to the majority on any question of Socialist principle. They were opposed entirely to the policy, or lack of policy, of the majority. Of this majority, the Blanquists were deprived of guidance and policy by the capture of their leader, Blanqui, by Thiers' Government. Blanqui's policy had always been, briefly, concentration on the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship, and upon the successful prosecution of the war on the bourgeoisie. For this reason he had deliberately eschewed all discussion of general Socialist policy, and selected his followers for their audacity and obedience rather than their theoretical principles. So he had built up a close body of militant revolutionaries, but now, when he himself was in prison, captured by Thiers in the provinces,

the telegraph wires to the provinces, cut by Thiers, but he ran a successful service of secret agents, who slipped through the lines at nights, and posted Parisian letters in the pillar boxes of towns in the enemy's hands. The Mint was directed by Camelinat, a bronze worker, and under his hands, such technical improvements were carried through, that, after the fall of the Commune, the Versailles Government asked him to return under a safe conduct, to instruct their own Master of the Mint in the improvements he had perfected.

Public Relief, another department subsidiary to the Finances, was directed admirably by Treillard, an elderly revolutionary of '48. He managed to turn upside down the whole spirit of the administration: to deprive it of all feeling of charity and give to the relief the appearance of right. He was particularly severe with the "sisters of mercy" and doctors who considered that their position entitled them to bully the poor. The lack of time alone prevented Treillard from re-organising the service entirely.

Of lesser departments, the Food Commission deserves mention. The regular provisioning of Paris, and the fall in prices were its work—in name, at least. The real credit must, in fact, be given to Viard, the delegate who occupied the Ministry of Agriculture, and who, after May 2nd, dispensed with the services of the Commission altogether, without any evil results.

In the Department of Justice (Eugene Protot, delegate) and Education (Edouard Vaillant, delegate), there is little to record beyond the announcement of certain minor reforms, particularly the secularisation of education, which had for a long time been demanded by advanced bourgeois reformers.

The delegation to External Affairs was very poorly served. Grousset, the delegate, was, it is true, starved of money, but it was his business to insist on being supplied. There was enough money in the Bank to have subsidised the revolutionary papers in every French province and to have worked up, by means of responsible agents, who in vain offered their services, the dying Communal movements in the great French towns. The movement could easily have been revived sufficiently to make impossible the great military concentration that Thiers was carrying on against Paris. Instead, Grousset contented himself with the writing of a few not very well chosen manifestoes and leaving their distribution to chance and good luck.

None of the above delegations, nor the delegation of Public Security, took the opportunity as they should have done, to go through and expose the secret documents of the capitalist regime. There were undoubtedly enough records of the corrupt intrigues of Napoleon's reign to have made as great a sensation as the publication of the Secret Treaties did in our days.

In the delegation to Labour alone was there any progress made towards a workers' society. Leo Frankel, an Austrian labourer, was delegate. He, like all other members of the International, was in regular communication with the Paris Federal Council of the International, and carried out its policy (Marx, in the General Council, had at one time hopes to direct the policy of the International in the Commune from London, but the difficulty of communication, among other reasons, made this impossible.)

Frankel, therefore, tried to carry out as far as possible in the time at his disposal, the programme of the International—the trans-

The Commune, naturally, repealed the destructive decree of the Assembly on rents and bills. It excused the workers all rent, and provided for their existence by continuing the pay and allowances of the National Guard. It returned all the furniture and property of the poorer classes which were in the pawnshops. It separated Church and State, confiscated ecclesiastical property and secularised education. It pulled down the Vendôme column, the most famous Paris monument to the victories of Napoleon I. It fixed a maximum salary of £240 a year for Communist officials. It suppressed a certain number of anti-Communist journals.

But that was all. Rightly or wrongly, the Commune was too oppressed by the military needs of the moment to occupy itself with outlining the basis of a new society.

The Administration of the Commune

There is more to record when we consider the administration of the Commune.

The Executive Commission which was elected at the beginning of the Commune, was, owing to its personnel, completely useless and inactive. Its place was taken, so far as it was taken at all, by the meetings of the delegates to the various public services, and later by the two Committees of Public Safety.

Of these delegations, perhaps, the most efficiently run was that of Finances, in the hands of Jourde and Varlin, both members of the Minority, and the latter a member of the International. Jourde was of the small middle class, Varlin a working bookbinder. They had to provide, mainly from the municipal revenues of Paris, 675,000 francs a day. This was done only by the strictest economy and the most careful book-keeping. The administration of Jourde and Varlin remains a model of care and scrupulousness.

The one grave fault to be noted in this department is to be blamed, not on Jourde and Varlin so much as on the Commune. The Bank of France owed Paris 9,400,000 francs, and in addition, was persuaded, with difficulty, to pay over another 7,200,000 francs. The narrowness of Jourde's resources, consequently, half-starved all the Communist administration. Nevertheless, the Commune steadily refused to seize the Bank of France. In specie and in various forms of paper, there was enough money therein to have bought up the whole Government—to have covered France and Versailles with a horde of Communist agents—to have bribed every Versailles official. There was exactly 2,950,000,000 francs in the Bank—say a hundred and fifty million pounds. Fifty years ago one could have done anything with such a sum. But the influence of Beslay, a most worthy old gentleman who had joined the Commune, prevented any such seizure. His good faith and insistent exposition of the Proudhonist theory of credit, actually intimidated the Commune into inaction, so little was its cohesion or community of policy.

Largely dependent upon the Finances were a series of minor departments, carried on with ability and integrity. Thiersz, a silver-smith, took charge of the Posts and Telegraphs, to discover that Thiers' officials had practically looted the Post Office, removing even the stamps, and leaving nothing but an empty shell. He restored the Paris postal services very swiftly, while ameliorating the conditions of employment. He was unable, naturally, to restore

orderly, that violent crime was unknown, and that none of the Versailles plotters dared to come out into the open. Ferre and Rigault also went through the archives of the old Prefecture of Police, and uprooted a number of spies and traitors still in the Commune ranks.

To stop the murder of prisoners by the Versaillese, the Commune passed a decree that for every prisoner murdered, three hostages should be shot from anti-Communards remaining in Paris. Rigault in consequence, collected a number of hostages, mostly minor agents of reaction, but including the Archbishop of Paris, the President of the High Court, and—best prize of all—Jocker, the capitalist who had inspired Napoleon's Mexican war. Nevertheless, the decree was not carried out, for although the Versaillese resumed, after a pause, their practice of shooting prisoners, no prisoner or unarmed man was killed by the Communards throughout the siege, from April 2nd to May 23rd.

The Fall of the Commune

The flight of Rossel had been followed by the appointment of a Committee of Public Safety. A fine name, but mere names would not make Pyat and his kind change their characters. It was recalled for its own incompetence, and the defence left to Delescluze. But his efforts were obviously hopeless: his men were outnumbered by 10 to 1. After Issy, Fort Vanves had fallen, and the end was only a matter of time.

The Commune, romantic as ever, attempted to meet the situation by appointing another Committee of Public Safety (May 15th). The minority, disgusted at what they considered to be playing with a serious situation, quitted the Commune and withdrew to the arrondissements (boroughs), for the members of the Commune were ex officio the borough council for their district. The Federal Council of the International persuaded them that to withdraw at this moment would be scandalous, and they returned.

On May 22nd, a spy gave signals to the Versailles army that the extreme south-west end of Paris (Auteuil) was undefended, and the Government troops crept in during the afternoon. That evening and next morning they poured in by all the western gates.

May 23rd found the Commune taken by surprise. Delescluze, Dombrowski, Rigault, and a few others attempted to organise the defence. Some of the members of the Commune, particularly those who had most bravely flaunted their red sashes a few days before, crept into ignominious hiding. The various battalions of the National Guard, following the natural instincts of popular forces, withdrew to defend their own quarters. Dombrowski, and later Rigault, were killed fighting. La Cecilia, Wroblewski, Varlin, Frankel, and others, attempted to organise the resistance in their own quarters, but, owing to the defections in the Commune itself—nearly the first to run, was, of course, Felix Pyat—there was no concerted resistance.

The Versaillese were able to capture nearly all the barricades on the 23rd and 24th by outflanking them, so disorganised was the resistance. The casualties in battle were very small. If they had pushed on, as General Clinchant demanded, Paris would have fallen at once. But that was not their plan, nor the orders of M. Thiers.

formation of the capitalist system into a system of workers' productive societies. Unlike most of his colleagues, he did not make the mistake of carrying out his plans for, and not by, the workers, or of taking paper decrees, as the equivalent of accomplished facts. Faced with the complete disappearance of the Trade Unions, and the urgent needs of the Department of War, which forbade any widespread economic upheaval, he proceeded cautiously. He realised that his immediate tasks were to recreate the Trade Union movement, to settle any outstanding disputes in the workers' favour, and to hand over the administration of the various industries and services to the unions as they became strong and active enough to be able to take them over.

The calls of service in the National Guard made this very difficult. But his first task was carried through very ably. At the fall of the Commune there were functioning vigorously, 34 *chambres syndicales*—that is to say, central committees of unions covering a single trade—43 productive societies, and 11 miscellaneous workers' associations. There were, that is to say, 34 well organised trades, and it is to be observed that, although most of these unions had nominally existed since 1870 at least, they had become, in all but name, extinct in March, whereas there is evidence that they were alive and militant throughout the Commune.

Among immediate measures against the employers may be counted the enforcement of a "fair wages" clause for Communist contracts, the suppression of night baking, and the forbiddance of all fines or retentions of wages by the employers. Frankel was not able to carry through his proposal for an eight-hour day.

For obvious reasons he was only able to make the smallest beginning in the handing over of industry to workers' associations. He secured a decree from the Commune giving preference, for all contracts, to workers' societies, with the result, that towards the end, practically all the requirements of the National Guard were so supplied. He called together a Commission of Inquiry, consisting of delegates of all the *chambres syndicales* of the Unions, to arrange for the taking over by the workers concerned of all the abandoned or closed workshops and factories in Paris, of which there were a great number. This Commission met twice, on the 10th and 18th May, but, most unfortunately, all record of their deliberations and decisions had disappeared.

The police service—"General Security"—was in the hands of the Blanquists, Raoul Rigault—a young man of 25—was first Delegate to Public Security (say Chief of Police), then Procureur (say, Public Prosecutor). In his hands was always the general direction of affairs. Courmet, a fellow Blanquist, took his place as delegate to Public Security, and later gave way to Theophile Ferre. Both Ferre and Rigault achieved a name as the most "terrible" members of the Commune.

Violent attacks were made upon Rigault for "levity" in his administration, but on the whole, unjustly. It is true that his service was based exactly upon the Empire's police system, and had obvious and grave faults. He had, however, to make something out of nothing in a few days, and, naturally, did so in the easiest manner, by following his predecessors. It was, at least, something to have secured that the Paris streets were quiet and

noble bravery and unquestioning devotion. The progress of the Versaillaise was slow and dearly bought.

But the end was not in doubt. The Communards were slowly but inevitably thrust back. Delescluze, who alone gave some sort of general direction, saw all was over on the 25th. He had seen 1830 and 1848; he was unwilling to outlive another defeat. Worn and frail, and looking very old, he walked under the eyes of his friends, down the streets to a barricade at the Chateau d'Eau, which the Versaillaise guns had reduced to a mere pile of stones. Unarmed, but for a cane, he slowly climbed it. There was a moment's pause, for the soldiers were astonished at the sight of this old man still wearing his red sash as a member of the Commune. Someone fired; he span round, and fell dead.

But not one man's death could end the battle. Slowly the Versaillaise pressed forward. On the 26th they took the Place de la Bastille and the old Faubourg Saint Antoine. On the 27th, descending from the north, they took the cemetery of Pere Lachaise. In the early hours of Sunday they took the remaining Commune barricades, on the heights of Belleville. Next day the outlying fort of Vincennes surrendered, and the last red flag was pulled down.

For these last few days Thiers had loosed Gallifet himself upon the city. What he did can hardly be described. Suffice it that for months after Belleville was a town of the dead. The traveller, passing through, saw no light or sign of life in the deserted houses; street after street was empty and desolate, as though a pestilence had swept the inhabitants away. Gallifet had depopulated the workers' quarters as though he had been Tamerlane, or any other mad Eastern ruler. The unfortunate victims were taken mostly to the Pere Lachaise cemetery, where—since flesh and blood was failing—machine guns were used for execution. To this day the wall where so many Communards were murdered is known as *le mur des federes* (Wall of the National Guards), and is a sacred place of pilgrimage for Socialists the world over.

Though resistance was over, the massacre was not. It went on gaily till the 2nd or 3rd of June, when it was stopped—for sanitary, not for humanitarian reasons. Then "regular" trials began. Disease and madness had claimed their victims among the prisoners, others had been shot by their guards on various excuses. Now more were sent to execution, and some to long periods of imprisonment. Others, whom even military justice recognised as having had no share in the Commune, were freed. But the mass of the Communards were deported en bloc to the South Sea island of New Caledonia.

The National Assembly passed a unanimous vote of thanks to Thiers, and appointed MacMahon, the Marshal in command of the army, President of the Republic.

* * *

Many years later an amnesty was proclaimed by the victors, oblivion and forgiveness offered. But there are some who have not forgotten and not forgiven. They remember the words of the old Commune, a veteran of '48, before his judges: "Twice, now, you have defeated us. But there will be a third time, and we shall win."

Immediately upon their entry into Paris, the Versailles troops organised a massacre. The soldiers had orders, which were executed, to kill at once all who surrendered with arms in their hands. They murdered, moreover, anyone whom casual suspicions or interested denunciations indicated. Crowds of idle passers-by were penned together, searched and ordered to show their hands. Any black marks on the palm which might be taken to be powder stains were sufficient evidence for execution. Any man who had retained any portion of the National Guard clothing was shot. (As though in 1919, every Londoner had been shot who had retained any portion of his army clothing). The police received 399,823 letters of denunciation, of which but a twentieth were signed. And the writing of such a letter was sufficient to make forfeit the life of the man delated, if he could be found. The fable of petrolouses—women petrol throwers, who were supposed to have fired Government buildings, led to the inclusion of women in this massacre. The firemen were almost exterminated, because some malicious person had spread the story that they had filled their hose-pipes with petrol.

Civilians whom good fortune saved from immediate death, were taken for trial before one of the numerous court-martials. The "trial" never lasted more than a few minutes, and death was the sentence in fully half the cases. The bodies were left lying in the Paris streets, or half buried in haste.

Those who were not shot by order of the courts, were sent to Versailles for re-trial. Before they could pass the gate of La Muette, they were stopped by the vain and theatrical General Marquis de Gallifet, who selected a number of them to be shot on the spot. One day it was the white-haired he killed, another, those who were taller or uglier than their neighbours—any fantastic reason that amused his ghastly fancy.

Then the wretched, fainting convoys marched uncovered under the blazing summer sun to Versailles, often forbidden water or rest, sometimes even shot en masse as a nuisance to their captors. They arrived at Versailles only to suffer fresh tortures, beaten and spat on by the "swell mob" and crowded into stinking underground dungeons.

Such horrors had occurred before in out-of-the-way corners of the world, against black men in colonial wars, but never before in the centre of Europe.

Maddened by these brutalities, the remaining Communards demanded the forfeited lives of the hostages remaining in their hands. Ferre, disdaining to evade responsibility, gave the order and they were shot. The few defenders of the Commune were now forced back into the eastern quarters of Paris. The Luxembourg and the south side of the river were lost, Montmartre had been taken by surprise, and the Hotel de Ville was in flames. Belleville, the workers' quarter, was the only Communard stronghold. The sun hid itself, and the heavy downpour brought by great guns, had begun.

On the 25th, 26th, and 27th, the Versailles met at last with an organised resistance. Their troops, in overwhelming numbers, were checked everywhere. The National Guards made a heroic, amazing resistance. The story of those days is one continuous record of

revolt of the masses everywhere. I saw you, Krupskaya, by the side of Lenin when you lived, he and you, in the little street in German Switzerland. I saw, as in a vision, the long and painful past, and the great and painful present, united and symbolised in you. I was moved with enthusiasm, not because I knew "this woman has seen this or that; she has undergone this or that suffering," but because your faithfulness, your self-abnegation, the wonderful unconscious spirituality which pervades you, appears to me to surround and permeate your whole personality.

I saw you at other times at the Congress, and when we sat near one another we spoke of those questions which we had most at heart—the education of the masses, the development of knowledge and of art and beauty among the people.

Twice you took my hands between your two thin dry hands. The expression of your thoughts, either in French or in German, comes to you with difficulty, and demands of you, even for short sentences, a mental effort. I told you that if you spoke to me slowly you might speak in Russian. Ah! how difficult it had been with other comrades—given my very poor knowledge of that language—to understand them! But with you I understood everything. All that you said was simple and clear like your own life—like your own heart. How weak I felt, how full of vanity and of bourgeois individualism, when face to face with your self-abnegation. "You gave me, indeed, a lesson in Marxism, and I am grateful to you."

You are good and pure and self-forgetting. But I saw emanating from you the revolutionary communist, the purest womanly spirit, the strongest love which aches to give itself, and which pours itself out in life.

Ah! would that you might ever have the sweet certainty of this thought: "We happy ones are marching towards victory; Communism is growing daily under our eyes, and in these latter days we shall see it triumph." But, alas! things are not quite so advanced! The cause for which you have lived still gropes in twilight. Courage and heroic perseverance are turned back helpless by the pressure of enemy forces. Our hearts are oppressed.

It is then that my thoughts turn to you, Krupskaya, wife of Lenin; to your fine stability, to your strong simplicity in the midst of the terrors of life and of death; and of the many, many, who are like you, and who, like you, believe and serve in absolute self-forgetfulness—then I feel sure that Communism in Russia, notwithstanding all its difficulties, will grow, will live, and will finally triumph.

(Translated by D. B. M. from *Compagna*, the Italian organ of Communist women.)

It is the duty of every Communist to see that a Communist Review is in the local library

Lenin's Wife

By HENRIETTA ROLAND HOLST

FOR the last fifteen years I have ardently desired to visit Russia, and when, on a warm day of last summer, I crossed the frontier, I felt myself—in spite of my grey hairs—almost young again. Petrograd, since 1905, has appeared to me as the sacred city of the proletarian renaissance, but when our train arrived there, I felt no special emotion, beyond a slight annoyance because of my fellow-travellers' dullness. When the Congress was opened with rejoicings, I remained cold as a stone; and on several other occasions, when I ought to have felt enthusiastic emotion was not aroused. . . .

But when I first saw you, Krupskaya, wife of Lenin, I could scarcely control my suppressed emotion. Quiet and unobserved you came in, quiet and unobserved you took your seat; then you began to speak in a slightly tremulous voice, in tones that caused my heart to beat as it did in my youth—impetuously, and with waves of emotion. On that day you appeared to me as a quiet, self-effacing woman, with no other ornament than your simplicity, your almost shy temperament, which seemed to make of you an impersonal personality. Your smooth hair covered your head almost like a cap, your face was pale, your eyes held a painful question as do the eyes of one who is suffering grievously. You were wearing a long faded cloak such as is worn by the women of the people, and which a cold damp morning in November rendered necessary.

It was at the Women's Congress that I thus saw you. You knew few of the delegates, and, at first, when you spoke, few realised who you were, and what you represented. I stood at your right, but had difficulty in understanding till a Russian woman said to me smilingly: "She has given us a lesson in Marxism." You sought for no applause. Ah! Your speech and applause; it was not the moment for applause.

When I saw you thus for the first time I felt in reality that there was incarnate in you whole generations of Russian women revolutionaries. They had lived and had died without any other object than that of serving the revolutionary cause. They had offered themselves, they had struggled when all around them was darkness, and when victory seemed infinitely far off. Their love for humanity never failed; their steadfastness never wavered for a moment. I saw them among the frozen steppes of Siberia, in the Czar's dungeons, ill-treated by brutal gaolers. I saw their bodies mutilated by blows, I saw them lying black and rigid in death. I watched the revolutionary emigrants departing in hundreds and in thousands, with despair gnawing at their hearts. I thought of their impatience, their misery, their long agony, their endless exile while waiting for the day of justice.

Then I saw them once more in the midst of their work for their country, and I remembered all the strength and goodwill they were bringing to the movement in order to widen and deepen it; I saw them passing on to other nations and across the seas the germinating thought that had been born and brought forth in Russia; I saw them perseveringly and patiently preparing the great

simply touched them on the surface and had not penetrated their reason and hearts?"

"What a revision of our methods of propaganda must we effect forthwith! How much greater the effort we must make for education, and what importance must be attached to all educative work to classes of study for adults!"

I am glad to emphasize the class work again. In the rush of many activities and demands our movement seems to me to have suffered in its class work and for want of class work. Rushing through the movement has been the strong sentiment—to hell with classes, get to the masses and on with the revolution.

The classes have thus missed the revolutionary fervour which could have impelled the classes to relate their studies to the revolutionary tasks of the age and have become cold and formal kind of things drifting to dilettante intellectualism. I may be wrong in my impressions, but I feel there is great need for a re-valuation of our recent methods in our Plebs classes, Labour College classes, general propaganda and revolutionary practice.

It has to be made clear that revolutionary practice and propaganda are not necessarily fire-breathing speeches. It has to become equally clear that education, even in psychology or economics, is not an end in itself, that all these things are of value to the degree to which they equip the working class to conquer power and hold power when they have got it. If there is a justification for independent working class education it lies in the fact that the working class has an independent goal before it. Ought we not therefore to study the ways and means of getting there? After all, those who are attracted to the classes are the best elements, the vanguard of the working class, the leaders of the working class. Don't mistake me now when I speak of leaders. I do not mean simply the Executive Councils of the Unions or Parties, but also every man and woman who takes an active interest in the branch business of their Union, their club, their party. These are the leaders of the masses whom we must train to lead in a revolutionary manner. We have great means at our disposal—a net work of Labour College classes made up of trade union members, many union committees operating in the same way as

the revolutionary trade union committees in France pioneered by Monatte and his colleagues, parties with educational classes, and so on. Cannot these be used to greater advantage? Let us reflect a while. Of those who are impetuous I would ask: Are we laying the foundations well? Are we really harnessing the forces that are drifting towards us every day? Or are they just coming in and passing out because we do not interest them in their own further development and the work they can do within the movement? Let us call a halt for a moment or two and think about it.

Yes, I like Monatte's "Reflections," not because I agree with all that is in this book. As a matter of fact I do not agree with him and his colleagues on all matters appertaining to the rôle of the unions in the revolutionary struggle. Their valuation of the Italian uprising which led to the seizure of the factories without the seizure of political power by the proletariat, I think is wrong. They are over-estimating the value of concentrating on the workshop and the policy of seizing the factories.

They are of value, certainly. But a movement which fails to reckon with the power of the State will not make very great headway in the direction of factory control. The essays do not deal with the controversy raging in the French revolutionary movement on the relations of the political party to the union. They ignore the rôle of the party, even as they ignore the question of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Without the Proletarian Dictatorship the movement in the direction of workshop control, the seizure of factories have value because they strip from the minds of the masses the old conceptions of formal democracy and submission to the employing class. But they are preliminary struggles leading up to and contributory to the making of the political crisis which determines the dethronement of the capitalist state power by similar means and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship. Italian history which is cited in the book as "the beginning of a new and brilliant chapter in working class history" is proving false.

Nevertheless, I like the book. It calls us to a halt and bids us reflect. A book which does that is worth reading.

J.T.M.

Book Reviews

Left Wing Trade Unionism in France.
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A. Heretel. 127 pages. Paper cover.
Is. 6d. Labour Publishing Co.

I WANT to recommend the reading of this book. Especially do I want our comrades to read Pierre Monatte's "Reflections on the Future of French Trade Unionism," which forms the first half of the book. Reflection—yes, that's what we need, and how few are the opportunities we have for it. Meetings upon meetings, interminable meetings. Talking, incessant talking, everywhere. We are compelled to it. In fact, talking has got us in its grip to such an extent that if we are not talking nowadays we are almost regarded as slackers in the movement. Pierre Monatte had to get into the trenches, to be dragged away from the meetings, to find his opportunities for reflection. Whatever the means, he got out of the rut, and his reflections come like a gentle healthy breeze whiping of the strength and vision to be gained by just drawing aside for a while and thinking over things.

"Had I not to wait the leisure of the trenches in order to read certain books: I had been keeping unread for twenty years?"

Listen. "I had not had time, strength or wisdom enough to read and draw sustenance from them. And yet I was one of those who did the most reading. But ours were diffusive minds: we wasted our attention and strength: almost all of us in various measure suffered from the same malady. In our circles we forgot the joy which serious reading gives, and the strength derived from strong concentrated thinking. We had forgotten how to read. We absorbed our daily and weekly papers and that satisfied our individual thirst in those days. But a deep need for learning, and for forming and nourishing our thoughts, we had ceased to feel."

"Let us begin with personal effort, the bookshelf, serious study, meditation in the peace of our room, and you will see if these hours of self-communing will not make of us different men from the men we were yesterday. We can then go to the club for study, for we shall have something to offer, to exchange, and bring away. But so long as we go there with empty and confused heads, we shall come back with empty hands and sick hearts. Let us make an end of diffusion of effort

of rushing from meeting to meeting, of precious time lost, of minds nourished with froth, of enthusiasms which fade before it has flowered."

If Monatte had said nothing more it was well worth translating into English. And its publication is so opportune. The Trades Union movement of England is very sick. All the political parties of the movement are sick. All the revolutionary movement is sick. These years of war, of revolution, of "peace," have been such crowded years, years of countless meetings, great activities without great purpose on the part of the multitude, high insipid hopes, sudden failures, disappointments, retreats. The Labour movement is paying the price of its lack of vision and theoretical training, its refusal to think over its experiences and consciously direct its activities towards its definite revolutionary goal.

The revolutionary section, always the salt of the bigger movement, has suffered too, from some of these failings. It has been so busy during these years, facing the brunt of the class struggle during the war, so overwhelmed with the tremendous wave of international activity arising from the Russian revolution, so inundated with demands from every section of the working class movement, that the small revolutionary minority have had to shoulder tasks which would have taxed the powers of a minority ten times as great. It has gone through much experience and many moods. Moods have always their reactions, and if the difficulties of to-day can bring us into the mood for reflection, then Monatte has a lot of good things to say which will appeal to us now.

He asks: "Why do so many people part company with us? For what reasons?"

"Yes. I know there were those which arose out of the war. But there were others which arose from the character of our movement, from the feverish spirit which awayed our comment, from our habit of brawling and backbiting, from the lack of trust and comradeship among us, from the lack of serious spirit in our debates which led us to take decisions which we were continually incapable of executing."

"Is it not easy to understand that at the end of a series of grave disappointments certain of the best abandoned us to our fate? And is it not all the more easy to understand because our ideas had

In a Russian Village. By Charles Rothen Buxton. Paper covers. 96 pages. 2s. 6d. Labour Publishing Co.

THIS book is a little gem. The author is not a Communist, but he has set down his impressions of a Russian village, as he found it, in 1920. He was a member of the Labour Delegation that visited Russia, and it is remarkable to read his conception of life under the Soviet Republic and to compare it with that of his colleague Mrs. Snowden. Of course, Mr. Buxton is both honest and intelligent, and these qualities are evident on every page of this splendid little volume, which we heartily recommend to those who would like to know what the Soviet revolution has meant to the peasant masses of Russia.

The Restoration of Agriculture in the Famine Area of Russia. Translated from the Russian by Eden and Cedar Paul. 167 pages. Cloth covers. 5s. Labour Publishing Co.

IN the April number of the COMRADE REVIEW there appeared a lengthy report on the underlying social and natural causes of the famine in Russia. The present volume, under review, is "the interim report of the State Economic Planning Commission of the Council for Labour and Defence of the Russian

Socialist Federal Republic." The book has been issued by the Labour Publishing Co. on behalf of the Information Department of the Russian Trade Delegation. It is, without doubt, the most comprehensive statement yet made regarding the famine. It is a quarry of good things for Labour propagandists, who can rest assured that every statement in the considered opinion of an expert. There are no less than nineteen sections in the book, each of which is the work of a scientific specialist. The nature of the soil in the various famine areas, and the condition of agriculture are minutely studied. Of even more importance are the many valuable suggestions put forward by the Commission for revolutionising the whole character of agriculture in the South of Russia. Under this head are discussed the great possibilities of improving agriculture by the joint efforts of electricians and engineers, working hand in hand with those who see the need for irrigation, machines, and electricity being applied to stimulate the natural resources.

We cannot over emphasise the importance of this book, which records the systematic manner adopted by the Soviet Government in facing up to one of the greatest difficulties which it has encountered.

The Fourth Anniversary of the Red Army in Moscow

By E. ROY

ACCORDING to documents, the Red Army is only four months younger than the Russian Revolution, but in reality, it was born on the same day, said Trotsky in an article commemorating the fourth anniversary of the formation of the Red Army, on February 24th, 1922. A marvellous review of the Moscow battalions was held in the Red Square, and in the evening a meeting of the Moscow Soviet in the Great Theatre to honour the day. On both occasions, Leon Trotsky, Commissar of War and Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army of the Russian Soviet Republic, was the principal orator.

It was such a day as comes rarely to snow-stricken Russia—brilliant sunshine in a pale, clear sky, which the dazzling snow seemed to rob of all its blueness. Since five o'clock in the morning the regiments had been forming for the great review that was to take place at eleven; over long country roads in the dim, morning light, with the hoar-frost clinging to their heavy, skirted coats and strange peaked caps, the soldiers had marched from outlying villages throughout the district of Moscow, to assemble around the

The A.B.C. of Communism. By N. Bobarin and E. Preobrazhensky. Translated from the Russian by Eden and Cedar Paul. 422 pages. 3s. paper covers. 5s. cloth covers. Communist Party, 16, King Street, London, W.C. 2.

THE publication of this book has been awaited with great interest. It is nothing more or less, as the title indicates, than a popular encyclopedia of Communism. The volume is divided into two parts: one deals with Communist theory and the other with the practical implications of the proletarian revolution. Beginning with an outline on the Communist Party programme, the book gives a brilliant outline of Marxian Economics which is dealt with in the most elementary language. The opening chapters would make an admirable reading lesson for groups entering upon a study of Economics.

Having analysed the essence of capitalism the authors pass on to a detailed examination regarding the upbuilding of Communism. This will be of the utmost importance to British readers. We cannot know too much of the experiences of the Russian revolution. We cannot spend too much time studying the trials and struggles of the Russian masses to build up the Soviet Republic. The Russian revolution has been one of the greatest happenings in history, and it behoves us to watch how the Soviets came into being and how they carried out their various functions during the intense moments of revolutionary crisis.

Before the revolutionary days of 1917 the Communist movement was based upon a series of theoretical assumptions which had never been tested by concrete experiences. The supreme value, therefore, of the A.B.C. is that the larger part of it deals with the practical problems which naturally arise in the destruction of the political power of the propertied class. Here we read of the actual and every day happenings of the revolution in its historic task of smashing out the old and creating the new. How far off seem the old days when the various aspects of the social revolution were set forth, theoretically, in a pamphlet or on a blackboard? We are now in a new world. Communism no longer means a series of conclusions based upon certain theoretical concepts; it has now become a definite policy in practice, it has descended from the sky of speculation and has become something of this earth and sky.

Step by step the auditors show the need for the conquest of All Power by the

masses. Never before has the reason for the dictatorship of the proletariat been so clearly and so convincingly stated. It is shown why a parliamentary government cannot emancipate the workers and why the Soviets not only embody the class-might of the masses but also supply the machinery for conducting the work of reconstructing the new social order. Problems of nationality, military organisation, education, religion, hygiene, etc., are faced and dealt with. The importance of industrial and agricultural organisation is examined in detail.

It is impossible to give any adequate idea of the scope of this great work. One might as well attempt to sum up the contents of the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" in a short article as attempt to set forth the detailed contents of the A.B.C. in a brief review. We can only urge our readers to buy the book and read it for themselves. It should be made a standing rule in the Party for every member to read the A.B.C. and for every branch to discuss it. It is the largest and most important book yet published by the Communist Party. It is well printed in good large round type, and as it contains 427 pages it is the best 3s. book at present before the reading public. The translation has been splendidly done by Eden and Cedar Paul, who have also prepared a good index and a bibliography.

Send in your order now!

W.P.

The British Empire. By T. A. Jackson. Paper covers. Price 6d. Communist Party, 16, King Street, London, W.C. 2.

HERE is a handy little book. It is never more brilliant than when attacking the core of world reaction—the British Empire. Many unwieldy volumes have been written upon the overseas expansion of Britain, but not one of them contains the valuable information which Jackson, by some miracle, manages to compress into his brochure. If anyone wants to understand what the British imperialists are doing in Egypt, India, etc., he will find the information in the little work before us. The coming conflict in the Pacific among Britain, America and Japan is graphically described and the argument is reinforced by a splendid full page map drawn by J.F.H. To any Labour student who wants a handy little compilation on international criminology this is the ideal booklet for his shelf. The type is good and the price is only sixpence.

confusion and inexperience of those early days when, for lack of adequate knowledge of military science, many lives were uselessly sacrificed, and not quality but quantity was made to count in the fierce battles against counter-revolution and the invading armies from abroad. "Many of us," he said "lacked the advantage of previous training," and those who heard knew that he spoke of himself among them. Then turning from the past to the future, he declared that the fifth year of the Red Army's life must be a year of strenuous study. "We must abolish illiteracy from our army by the coming first of May," said Trotsky earnestly. "Let us see to it that every soldier knows how to read and write; each soldier must be able to read the Oath of Allegiance and to understand fully the meaning of that glorious promise to our Republic. The reduction of the army will be in proportion to the qualitative improvement of its elements. The army must be well-fed, warm and clean first of all; a soldier with a 'vosh' (louse) is only half a soldier. Ignorance and prejudice is the inner vosh that weakens the human being much more than the outer one; we must therefore raise the moral standard and enlightenment of the army; it must understand the Soviet Constitution and its internal problems as well as foreign politics and the contingencies that may give rise to future wars; more, our soldiers must understand the material laws that determine the history of mankind and the universe. We must so improve our military training that every Red soldier will in case of need, be capable of taking the command. All this cannot be done by the waving of a magic wand, but by the hard, patient mosaic of daily work. The fifth year of life of the Red Army will be a year of strenuous study."

To see this erect, soldierly figure in his severely simple uniform, without a hint of decoration or a sign of rank beyond the general's stars on his sleeve, and to remember that at the outbreak of the October Revolution, in 1917, he knew nothing of military science, even to the handling of a rifle; then to recall his war record of the past four years in building up the most tremendous fighting machine of the modern world, in the teeth of insuperable difficulties; to enumerate the list of battles won, of enemies captured and invading armies driven back defeated, is to see embodied in the flesh one of the many great achievements of the Russian Revolution, whose child he is and which has made of him a man. The anti-militarist orator and agitator Trotsky has been moulded in the fiery crucible of war and revolution into a ripened leader and beloved commander with a sure grasp of himself and of the forces that stand obedient to his behest. Trotsky has risen splendidly equal to the undreamed of exigencies and responsibilities so suddenly thrust upon him. He stands to-day not merely as a national, but as an international symbol of revolutionary achievements accomplished under the most difficult conditions; small wonder that the proletariat look to him as the leader of future victorious hosts against the unions of the world reaction and counter-revolution.

As he finished his brief but eloquent address, the sky was suddenly filled with a distant humming, and a squadron of aeroplanes appeared in the transparent blue, circling, diving and climbing joyously above the multitude, and as the thunderous applause began to die away, a flutter of leaflets, like white doves,

walls of the ancient Kremlin, and to pour their ranks inside the great rectangular space known since the Revolution as the Red Square. Upon one side rises the Chinese Wall that encircles the medieval fortress-town of the Kremlin, whose gilded domes and multi-coloured spires and minarets rise flashing like a fairy vision above the serrated top of the old wall, where sentries stand on guard. Upon the other side lies the outer wall of the Kremlin, now concealed and half destroyed by the buildings of the modern city; one end of the square is closed by the old, fortified gateway and the other end by the fantastic church of St. Basil, built in the time of Ivan the Terrible, who caused the eyes of the unhappy architect to be put out in order that he might not be tempted to build for any other monarch such an architectural oddity as this grotesque agglomeration of variegated pinnacles, half Chinese pagoda, half Indian temple, like a disordered nightmare brought to being.

Into this picturesque enclosure, from an early hour, the regiments began to march, bands playing, banners waving, the whole square alive with uniformed men whose lines stretched away on either side to the outer limits of the square, and overflowed into the streets beyond. Under the Kremlin Wall, where the graves of the Red Guards slain in the first storming of the old fortress lie, the crowd of spectators began to file in. A large delegation was present from the Communist International, which happened to be celebrating a conference in Moscow conjointly with the anniversary of the Red Army's foundation. Familiar faces greeted one at every turn—men and women prominent in the International Working-class Movement, men at the head of affairs here in Russia—all mingling in little groups and gathered to pay homage to the soldiers whose four years of strenuous fighting saved the Republic and given impetus to the cause of the International Proletarian Revolution.

At eleven o'clock, the slim, well-knit figure of Trotsky appeared on the Tribune, and a slow wave of cheering rose and swelled on the frosty air, dying away to the farthest corners of the Square, only to be flung back again as an echo and renewed by the enthusiastic soldiers—"Trotsky's darlings." The Commander-in-Chief of the victorious Red Army held up his hand for silence, and an instant hush fell over that vast assemblage. There was nothing of theatrics in that simple gesture, but the firm, steady will of the man ripened by responsibilities and sure of his followers. The Red Army idolises its Chief, who mingles in his treatment of them the discipline of a stern revolutionary with the tender love and consideration of a father for an immense family of trusting, simple-hearted courageous children.

Then he spoke, each word falling distinctly, separately, like the salute of a cannon, his full, resonant voice flinging out the sound to the farthest soldier in the Square and waiting until the echo gave it back again with equal and startling distinctness, so that it seemed as though there were two speakers, not one, addressing the motionless and attentive auditors. He spoke of the first beginnings of the Red Army, that tattered group of determined workers who banded themselves together at the outbreak of the Revolution and constituted the Red Guard; of the first year's struggle to organise a new army out of the disintegrating masses of the old Czarist fighting machine; of the trouble and

the gleam and flutter of the red banners; the plain uniforms of officers and men, adorned only by the Soviet insignia, a crossed gun and hammer; the white aeroplanes painted with a red star, and the formidable tanks each bearing a name allegorical and meaningful, such as "The Paris Commune," "The Fighter for Freedom," "Comrade Lenin," "Rage," and "Proletariat." Russia the indomitable has become Russia the invincible, thanks to the limitless courage and toil which created the Red Army for the defence and preservation of the first Proletarian Republic.

Two Helpful Pamphlets

"Consolidation and Control." (Price 4d.).

A policy for the engineering and shipbuilding industry. R.H., writing in the *Plebs*, says:—

"A closely reasoned and well thought out statement of the present defects in trade union structure."

"All Guild Socialists ought to read this well written and keenly argumentative pamphlet."

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This is a brilliant record of the past and present struggles of the workers engaged in mining. *The Communist*, in recommending this pamphlet, says:—

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To be obtained from Communist literature depots, at 16, King Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C. 2, or 221, West Street, Glasgow.

The Restoration of Agriculture in the Famine Area of Russia

*Issued by the Information Department
of the Russian Trade Delegation*

Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul

Demy 8vo. 168 pp. 5s.

THE LABOUR PUBLISHING COMPANY LTD.
6, TAVISTOCK SQUARE, LONDON, W.C. 1

began to flutter gently down in zig-zag spirals upon the expectant, upturned faces of the happy throng. Trotsky descended from the Tribune and made his way to the front line of spectators where the soldiers would pass in review to give and take the salute. Eager comrades pressed to greet him as a fellow-soldier, and were met with simple cordiality; one old veteran, crippled in the service, approached him hat in hand, and Trotsky asked him to cover himself, shaking his hand with comradely good-fellowship. It was very cold standing there; the men had been on the march and had stood already for hours with true Russian patience. Before the review commenced, a group of speakers from the Communist International ascended the Tribune to greet them in the name of their own proletariat. The Russian leaders, who have never for a moment forgotten the international character of the struggle they are conducting, invariably include the representatives of the fighting proletariat of other lands in every celebration of the Red Republic. The broader issues of the contest now being waged on Russian soil, are constantly held before the people; the Red Army, on its fourth anniversary, must not forget that it is serving first and foremost as the vanguard of the world proletariat in its advancing march towards freedom; while the members of the Communist International know that on hailing the triumphant forces of Russia, they can rejoice at the closer approach of the world revolution.

Delegates from the Communist Parties of Czechoslovakia, Japan, France, Germany, and America paid brief and heartfelt tribute to the tremendous organisation that had grown from such small beginnings, and that, during four years, had valiantly defended the first government of workers, soldiers and peasants from the enemies that had hemmed it in on every side. They conveyed to the Red Army of Russia and to the Soviet Republic which it defended, the greetings of their home proletariat. As they spoke, the distant aeroplanes circled above their heads like giant swallows, gracefully dipping and curving in the clear, frosty sunshine, or riding low over the Chinese Wall of the Kremlin, whose painted towers seemed to blink in astonishment at this intrusion upon their hoary antiquity, and at the conclusion of every speech, a low roll of response, spreading and swelling to a shout, then dying away into echoes, came from the listening soldiers.

At last the quick, staccato music of the band stirred the waiting ranks to motion. In marching array, regiment after regiment filed past the reviewers, who stood on one side of the square, Trotsky in their midst. Each company carried its own scarlet banner, with the campaigns it had fought in lettered in gold upon it. The soldiers marched with the easy spring of lissome youth, for they were all young. In steady ranks they poured, infantry, machine gun corps, engineers, sappers and miners, artillery, cavalry, aeroplanes and tanks, ambulance and communication units—a modern army completely equipped, in the face of the most tremendous handicaps of revolution, civil war, invasion, and blockade ever recorded. It was a magnificent spectacle, rendered more impressive by the clear beauty of the day and the symbolic significance of this mighty war machine, created by an anti-militarist out of the chaos of ruin and defeat, and dedicated to the cause of world-revolution. The triumphant playing of the Internationale;

purchaser at the appropriate fraction of their financial cost price, they can be sold at that price, and a voucher be delivered to the purchaser entitling him to an appropriate amount of cash or credit from a bank. But no proposal, as Mr. Dobb implies (p. 37) has been made to apply a price ratio to raw materials or semi-manufactures. The elimination of monopoly profits in the supply of such goods depends ultimately on the vesting of credit-issue with an association with no interest in monopoly, that is, of ultimate consumers: which is one reason for the social control of banking.

I would put this point to Mr. Dobb and your readers. Take a boot factory or a rolling mill, which has a current production of, say, 80 per cent of its reasonable capacity, were the management freed from financial considerations due to restricted credit or inability to distribute their product. Into the price of its product go its "overhead" charges, which have to be liquidated on pain of bankruptcy. On its current production, let us say, those charges are 95 per cent of what they would be on its full production as defined: they will certainly be higher than 80 per cent. This means to say, that the purchasers of the boots or of the end-products made from the output of the mill, have to pay expenses, of which they never get the benefit. The only way in which they can escape paying is by some communal cancelling of this debt. Mr. Dobb, of course, may be peculiar in liking to pay for capacity which is never used.

Under the caption of "saving" he expresses the fact that the credits issued to finance new production are almost wholly spent on consumable goods already in the market: this applies both to credits issued when a cash-liabilities ratio is maintained, and when it isn't. When the credits have been so spent, the real cost of the labor items for the new production has been liquidated. What we complain of is that this cost is treated by the cost-price system as still outstanding, and presently appears in prices, usually as class (b) costs. Mr. Dobb (p. 38) takes to the Supply and Demand Theory of prices so thoroughly, that he writes that when the end-products come on the consumers' market, by increasing the supply, they correct the original inflation. But they must fetch *cost-price*, which puts a lower limit to prices.

The voluntary saving of capital, which, according to Mr. Dobb, does not lead to

inflation, being merely a transference of purchasing power, is an outworn and partly pernicious device. A man with, say, £3,000 a year, saves 10 per cent and invests it. Half of it goes to purchase plant, the rest pays for labour. If he spent it on himself he would not spend it on the necessities of life, but on amenities. It is now transferred to the consumers of necessities, thus tending to raise their prices. Spend, honest, economics!

Mr. Dobb's notion of business procedure (last paragraph but one on p. 37) seems incredible. For it means that a concern making textile machinery employs labour, etc., in turning out a machine: but it does not pay for the labour until some other concern has bought and paid for the machine: which is rubbish. On this argument, when Mr. Dobb buys a railway ticket, a fraction of the price which covers a fraction of the cost of the rails over which he will travel, will presently be paid over to the railmakers. Or else he means when one machine is bought, another will straightway be made. Yet he has devoted a long paragraph (p. 32) to the woes of the Constructional Trades! Mr. Dobb, like so many other people, has faith that the banks will always be willing and able to play the game, by providing fresh credit for new works: bridges for Africa rather than houses at home, for example. But directly they do hand out credit so that production speeds up, inflation results. Whereupon an eye to reserves and a feeling for sound balance sheets compel a check, and depression sets in. When a constructional industry such as shipbuilding outruns demand, there appears to be nothing for it but let it depress the rest of industry, until such time as a stimulus can be found which will revive demand, when the arrears of overhead charges will go into price.

Needless to say, it is plainly to the interest of the present system that more of something or other shall be produced in order to keep up the supply of purchasing power in the retail market, than that what has already been produced shall be efficiently employed. Hence the valuable myth of how poor we are, and how everybody must work harder in order to extend production. Mr. Dobb (p. 39) gives the usual account of the causes of the crisis. England, I would point out to Mr. Dobb, lent more to other States than it borrowed from the United States. So far from general plant

A Discussion on the Douglas Proposals

HILDERIC COUSENS replies to DOBB

WITH what accuracy the instrument with which Mr. Maurice H. Dobb examines the theory of Mr. Douglas may be described as the microscope of Marxism may be left to your Marxist readers. To me it seems much more to resemble the spy-glass of the Cambridge School of Orthodox Economics, while Marx is dragged in from time to time by the scruff of the neck to show that the article is really meant for the COMMUNIST REVIEW and not for the Financial Supplement of the *Saturday Review* or the City page of the *Morning Post*. Mr. Dobb's devotion to Mr. Keynes (surely he does not extend it to Louchet?) prompts me to suggest that, if he would refer to Mr. Keynes's articles in the *Manchester Guardian*, April 26th and May 1st, he would apologise for taking Austria and Poland (p. 34) as prime examples of bad finance, and add to his sentence (p. 38) which expresses thanks that the Soviets did not adopt the Douglas Proposal, "though the internal and external Credit of Soviet Russia is now the poorest in the world."

With much, perhaps most, of Mr. Dobb's seven pages on Inflationism I agree: they supply a good many arguments for the Douglas Proposal, which Mr. Dobb does not, to my satisfaction, come anywhere near proving are Inflationist. But if your readers reflect on the assumptions which underlie these pages, they will perceive that Mr. Dobb commits himself to some extraordinary views—extraordinary, that is, from the point of view of reasonableness and desirability. For instance: He is only too anxious to prove how poor this country is, and especially (p. 33) how limited is the supply of raw materials and food. Yet the most persistent demand for the unlimited issue of financial credit to concerns that can increase their production, comes from the farmers, lumbermen, and the raw material suppliers of North America, who have raised a pretty steady clamour ever since the Civil War. The next most persistent demand has come from manufacturers, who also wished to increase their production faster than the State and Central Banks would allow.

What is more, quite a number of these manufacturers wish to develop plant designed either to increase the supplies or economise the use of the prime materials. The Inflationists are fundamentally sound in their contention that when a man or an organisation is in a position to increase the wealth of the world, the business of the monetary and financial system is to help him to do it: that is, to advance him the necessary credit. For various reasons, some of which Mr. Dobb gives, Inflationism, the granting of credit irrespective of any ratio between banking liabilities and some conventional, artificial or restricted, reserve such as gold, fails to secure the desired results. It has, nevertheless, a long run of considerable success, as, despite the superposed impediments of reparations, etc., Germany is proving. What Mr. Douglas is after, amongst other things, is to secure the advantages of Inflationism, to remove its weaknesses, and also remove that element of inflation which is normal to the present system, and of which, so far as I can see, Mr. Dobb thoroughly approves. And until he indicates what are to be the fundamental principles of his wished-for Communist Society, as distinct from the administrative question as to who shall give orders to whom, I can only conclude that he prefers tying down production to a cash-raeerie to designing a credit system which shall promote production of a maximum standard of comfort and freedom.

With regard to that part of his article which relates to the Douglas Theory, I would observe that the Producers' Bank is one, but only one, of the ways of actualising the principles. As far as I remember, for example, in the literature of "The Credit Crusade" in America, which advocates the Douglas Proposal, no reference is made to Producers' Banks. Similarly, the price regulation in the Mining Scheme is also only one way of effecting what is required, namely, the distribution to the consumer of the difference between the increase in wealth (goods plus capacity) and the decrease, in any period. For example: Instead of consumable goods being sold to the

to-day, or that the law of diminishing returns does not operate there. I did not say that suppliers of raw material could not increase their supplies. I said they could only do so after an interval of time, and at an increasing cost. Of course, farmers clamour for credit, because if they, as individuals get credit, they can buy machines, labour-power, etc., at the expense of someone else. But if everyone (farmers, manufacturers and all) gets more credit, and everyone clamours for more machines, labour, and raw materials, they cannot all get more, if there is not the supply there already. Prices must rise, and someone must go without. Mr. Cousens seems to endow credit with the mystic property of making machines and fertilisers spring up from nowhere in a night and of summoning manna from the skies.

3. On the question of Producers' Banks I seem to have scored a success. Mr. Cousens is very eager to point out that the Douglas Theory does not stand or fall with Producers' Banks. However, my criticism was aimed at the principles of the scheme, not merely at one specific expression; and it applies just as much to the alternative which he suggests. In fact my criticism becomes all the plainer in the latter case. The giving of direct credit to consumers over and above the ordinary purchasing power distributed in production will result in there being an excess of purchasing power in consumers' hands, and consequent relative shortage of goods. This accumulation of unusable purchasing power will offer a great temptation for illicit trading above the regulated price; and if it is spent on foreign goods, will raise their price and cause a slump of the foreign exchange. I was quite aware that the Douglas Price-ratio would not be applied to raw materials. I was, in fact, for simplicity taking the most favourable case (top p. 37). As their prices are not regulated, the price of raw materials will soar, as credit issue expands, and this will be an additional cause of a slump in our foreign exchange.

4. Mr. Cousens' case of the factory applies to an isolated factory or one branch of production, but not to the whole productive system, of which I gather he takes his boot factory as a type. If additional credit is given to all factories, they will all want to increase their production, and buy more raw materials; and if those raw materials are not for the moment forthcoming, the net result

will be a rise in their price, and all factories will be in exactly the same position as they were before. The fallacy is much the same as that in 2. Mr. Cousens seems unable to view the economic system as a whole. The only way productivity can be expanded is by the diversion of economic resources from satisfying present wants to future wants, as when the Soviet Government transfers labour and machines from producing food to developing electrification. It implies reduced present consumption. Under capitalism it takes the form of "saving."

5. Here Mr. Cousens betrays—to my mind—a pitiful misunderstanding of the function of money. Mr. Cousens may "complain" as much as he likes, but as long as he retains the competitive price system, labour cost, even though paid by a credit advance, must figure in price, partly because this is the only way cost can be balanced against demand and economic waste diminished, and partly because labour cost represents an addition to purchasing power and price expresses a relation between purchasing power and goods. Mr. Cousens merely repeats the fallacy which I exposed on page 37, and to which he makes no reply.

Cost-Price does not put a "lower limit to prices," it is an average or equilibrium point of prices.

6. I did not say that it was desirable that capital investment should take the form it does under the present class system. Mr. Cousens should know that inflation means inflation of the level of all prices, not mere increase of some prices, offset by a decrease of others. His argument about luxuries and necessities, however, is completely wrong. In so far as investment means less demand for luxuries, less labour will be employed in luxury trades, and that labour will be available for employment on the capital development, in which the capital investment has been made. There will not, therefore, necessarily be any rise in the price of necessities.

7. I never made any such statement as Mr. Cousens suggests. In fact, this is the very thing which Mr. Cousens implies when he says that prices go up before the flow of purchasing power is adequate to meet them. O Sancta Simplicitas! At the end of the paragraph Mr. Cousens merely repeats the fallacy that the only way to increase productivity is by inflation of credit. The problem of the constructional industry is not due to credit,

being deteriorated, the difficulty is that in efficiency is so great that what would be a respectable order in pre-war times is now very inadequate. I have by me at this moment statements taken from one paper only in the first six months of 1919 on the increased capacity in this country to produce aluminium, boots, chemicals, dyes, electric supplies, engineering in general and particular, furniture, machine tools, matches, motors, shipping, steel, vegetable oil products; the increase applying both to plant and technique. The most serious deterioration appears to be textile machinery, the manufacturers of which have been going full blast practically ever since the war, and the users of which have been systematically forced to keep it grossly under-used for most of the same period. Mr. Dobb quotes Mr. R. McKenna on British capacity. I will quote a more reputable statistician. Mr. Edgar Crammond declared to the Institute of Bankers that it was his reasoned and deliberate conviction that as a result of the war the economic developments of the world had been impelled forward by at least two generations, and was convinced from a close examination of the subject that our power of production had increased by at least 50 per cent during the war. (See the *Economist*, March 15th, 1919).

MAURICE H. DOBB REPLIES TO COUSENS

FIRST, I will ask your readers to notice very carefully that Mr. Cousens does not reply to my two main criticisms on the Douglas Theory, which were:—

1. That the Douglas Theory is wrong in, say, attributing our social ills to lack of purchasing power, because it assumes a simultaneous inflation and deflation, which is absurd (see p. 38). As I have expressed it elsewhere, this fallacy is due to a failure to see the difference between (a) decrease of *total* purchasing power of *all* money, and (b) decrease of purchasing power of each *unit* of money.

2. That the Douglas Scheme tries to do an impossible thing—inflate credit and deflate prices at the same time. This will mean wholesale shortage (relative to demand) of consumable goods and raw materials (see p. 37) and consequent violent slumping of our foreign exchange.

The nearest that Mr. Cousens goes to replying is to talk in quite an irrelevant fashion once about saving and once about

To discuss at greater length these or take up other points of interest in the article would occupy too much space. But I would say that when Mr. Dobb writes (p. 39) "it is in production that the 'power to buy' is distributed," he puts his finger on what is fundamentally unsound. As long as the doing of more work is necessary in order to distribute the output of the past, so long will society be at the mercy of whoever provides the new work, be he financier or commissary; and so long will it be everybody's interest to make work not goods, and support that systematic sabotage which has marked the administration of the wealth of England and the United States, ever since the end of the war closed the period in which production was carried on, comparatively speaking, free from the restraints of an inadequate supply of purchasing power.

Mr. Dobb's article reads like an apology for capitalism, or: Why the worker must remain poor and productive; but I am curious to hear what advice Mr. Dobb would give his Communist Government on securing that maximum delivery of goods to the ultimate consumer and that maximum power of self-determination in the policy of one's life which it is the object of the Douglas Proposal to secure.

cost price. I can only conclude that either (a) Mr. Cousens cannot answer them, or (b) Mr. Cousens does not understand the criticisms. However, we will take what Mr. Cousens does say paragraph by paragraph.

1. His gibe in the first paragraph is quite irrelevant. As Marx was in some things nearer to Ricardo and Adam Smith and Sir William Perry than he was to the currency fallacies of Owen and Gray, so is it strange that I should seem to Mr. Cousens to have more in common with Danbit Robertson and Irving Fisher than with himself and Maj. Douglas? If he had read his *Manchester Guardian* more thoroughly he would have seen that Mr. Keynes expressed the opinion that Russia might possibly be the first country in continental Europe to put her finances on a sound basis and stabilize her exchange!

2. Mr. Cousens, who is, I believe, an able historian, should know that because there were large unexploited natural resources in the Middle West of U.S.A. in 1880, that is not to say that there are



The 11th Conference of the Russian Communist Party

THE eleventh Conference of the Russian Communist Party, which opened on March 27th, 1922, is fraught with peculiar interest and importance, since the decisions taken therein will decide the internal and external policies for the ensuing year of the Russian Soviet Government, of which the Communist Party is the Central Staff.

The small auditorium in the Kremlin which houses this important gathering was crowded to subversion on the opening day, every holder of an admission card being present in order to hear the report of Lenin, which occupied the business of the first session. No better occasion than this could be desired for viewing, *ex nearis*, the leading spirits of the Russian Revolution and present government. Every name, famous and infamous to the outer world as synthesizing that European spirit, the Bolsheviki, was present in the flesh. Old party members from the historic days of 1903 and 1905 jostled elbows with the younger elements that have crowded into the front ranks of the Russian Communist Party during the exciting years that have followed the revolution of 1917. Right and left tendencies, which are so pronounced a feature of the Bolsheviki, and which have threatened more than once to produce a split in their ranks, thresh out their different viewpoints on this common ground and find a modus vivendi as well as common tactics to hold them together for the coming struggle. The famous "Workers' Opposition"—headed by those twin spirits of rebellion, Shliapnikov and Kollontai, stand like rebellious children waiting for the parental chiding from the respected

elders of the Party, Lenin, Stalin, and their ilk. An impressionist could ask for no better opportunity to study that redoubtable force which during the past four and a half years has guided the destinies of the Russian peoples. That vague and sometimes terrifying abstraction, the R.K.P., which in its prophetic real, its rigid discipline, its incontestable determination and energy resembles those early Christian brotherhoods that sprang up in the middle ages, stands forth here humanised, resolved into its remarkable component elements, which for all their fascinating divergencies, stand linked together by a common understanding and a common principle. Here the modern order of Marxian crusaders assemble in battle array to discuss past achievements and errors, to apply the lessons learned to future problems and, in addition to guiding the destinies of the Russian masses, to devise new means for furthering the cause of the World Proletarian Revolution, for which to them, the Russian Revolution is but the prelude.

The agenda of the Conference embraced every question that vexes the Governments of Europe and America, viewed from the Communist angle of vision, as well as problems peculiarly Russian, Socialist and Sovietist. In addition to the exhaustive survey of the past year and forecast of the future by Lenin, a political report by the Central Committee of the Party, an organisation report and report of the C.K.K. (Central Control Commission), as well as one from the Communist International occupied the first several days of the week's sessions. Further business included discussion of

but to the competitive system, as Marx showed in his Theory of Crises.

8. Mr. Cousens tries to show that the productivity of capitalism has suffered no decline owing to the war, because there is more plant than before the war in certain industries. Increase in these cases was probably largely due to increased leisure "speeding up" of workers, longer hours, and the introduction of women's labour, all of which were purely temporary. Such improvement is balanced by deterioration in other things such as those which I mentioned. In continental countries this deterioration has been very much greater; and in so far as Europe is an economic unit, this means that as part of Europe we too are poorer. Against Mr. Crammond I would quote Dr. Bowley, leading statistician of the capitalist class, who sees no reason for thinking our productivity to be greater, and Prof. Pigou, Mr. Keynes, and Mr. Lavington, who think it to be definitely less. But even if Mr. Crammond is right in saying that in pure technique Britain is richer, that does not apply to the whole capitalist world, about which I was speaking, nor does it invalidate my second reason (p. 39) of the present capitalist crisis, which I think by far the most important. This Mr. Cousens ignores.

9. To say that "in production the power to buy is distributed" is not the same as to say that only by more work

can more money be had. My statement merely implies that people are paid as workers. In a Communist society improved technique would result in a rising standard of life for the workers without the need for them to do more work in order to realise that standard. Surely Mr. Cousens knows that a fallacy becomes no less of a fallacy because it is repeated dogmatically in every paragraph?

If capitalism is to be prevented from crushing the organisations of the workers and plunging the world into another Imperialist war, then the power of the workers must be organised to fight capitalism and the capitalist State; and the power of the workers ultimately rests in their economic indispensability as producers. Hence anything which dissipates the workers' energies away from this main task, and leads them away to chase "will-o-the-wisps" about purchasing power and consumers' grievances, is really pro-capitalist. I am conscious that as a mere student and theorist my capacity to aid the working class is limited, but to do what little I could to furnish the intellectual weapons for fighting such doctrines and to prevent comrades from being led away by the surface attractions of such proposals was my object in writing the previous article in question. If Mr. Cousens thinks it read "like an apology for capitalism," that can only be because he himself does not really understand what the economic problem of capitalism is.

Volume One

OF

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diplomats, and it is natural that as we go to Genoa as traders, we are not indifferent as to who will represent the bourgeoisie there—whether they are those who lean towards a military settlement or those inclined towards pacifism, even of the poorest quality.... We go to Genoa with the purpose of enlarging our trade and creating favourable conditions for it, without at all being certain of success. That would be ridiculous. But by the most careful survey of the conditions of Genoa I can say without exaggeration that we will finally succeed in attaining our purpose: if our partners are not too stubborn and have enough common sense, we will achieve our purpose through Genoa; if they are stubborn, darn outside of it, because the interests of the entire world, the bourgeois world included, demand it. In the face of such interests, we can dispute and fight and disagree on many points, and quite possibly we will disagree, but in the end, this basic economic necessity will make its way by itself. Without predicting the length of time or degree of success of Genoa, we can safely say that normal trade relations between Soviet Russia and the entire bourgeois world will be resumed.... For Communists who have lived through such serious events as we have, beginning from 1917, Genoa does not present any very great difficulties. From the Communist point of view, there is nothing to disagree on: we go to Genoa as merchants to obtain the most favourable means of developing trade, which will inevitably develop, even if Communism attempt to prevent it.

THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY.

"The treatment of other questions is, in my opinion, of more importance for the past and the coming year. The most important is the New Economic Policy. We have learned much from it. In discussing the New Economic Policy, we must bear in mind three basic points. The first is a survey of our relation with the peasant economy, in contrast with the former period when all our forces were concentrated upon defence against invasion. The return to the Economic Policy was decided in the last conference with extraordinary unanimity, which proves that the necessity for a new treatment of socialist economy had already ripened.... We had taxed the peasants very heavily for defence, and this was justified on broad lines even by the peasants, who understood that the heavy burdens placed upon them were neces-

sary to uphold the power and defend the Workers' and Peasants' Government against the struggling invasions of the bourgeoisie. In this period there was no close relation between the Soviet institutions and the peasant masses. This we clearly saw in the last Party Conference, so clearly that no doubt was left that the New Economic Policy was inevitable.... We have to remember that the basic task of "Nepa" (New Economic Policy), which subordinates all other questions to itself, is to establish a close connection between the socialist economy which we started to build, however imperfectly, and the economy of the peasant masses. This close connection we have not yet attained, and this we must establish first of all. Our task is to prove that between the hard, struggling, devastated life of the impoverished peasantry and the remote ideals of Socialism, there is a close relationship: that our work helps him, this poor, simple, toiling person. We have to show them that Communism is created in order to help them, or else they will send us to the devil.

"We are not interested just now in the historical point of view, the main thing is to know whether Nepa will prove of any use to us: whether we can finish it or not; whether it will prove to have been a correct retreat; while retreating together with the masses, whether we will be able at the same time to go slowly forward, and that the masses will be able to perceive this. If so, our aim is gained, absolutely gained, and no force in the world will be able to conquer us. During the past year we have to admit frankly that we have not yet reached that point. But I am deeply convinced, and Nepa gives us the chance to arrive at such conclusions, that if we assimilate the enormous dangers enclosed in it, and direct all our forces towards the weak points, then our problem is solved.

COMPETITION.

"The second and more restricted lesson to be learned from the New Economic Policy is in the review of Government and capitalist institutions. We already have mixed associations, which have been adapted by us Communists to capitalist methods, and they have this significance, that they have established practical competition between capitalist methods and our methods. Up to now we have been writing programmes, and this was absolutely necessary, for without a programme we could not appear as makers of the world revolution. But now we must

the Trade Unions, of Finance, of military problems and of Party building. The Presidium of the Congress bristled with the formidable personalities of Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Stalin, Kamenev and a dozen others less famous abroad but bearing an important relation to the conduct of affairs in Russia. The most responsible workers of the country had called a momentary halt to their ceaseless round of activities to come together in comradely concourse, to adjust their viewpoints to a common outlook and to solve in theoretical discussion the complexity of the enormously difficult problems of government that confront them practically each day. To attend such a conference and to hear the deliberations of its members, is to comprehend full well that however much the force of circumstances is sweeping Soviet Russia into the tide of world events and international relationships with bourgeois states, the core of the Revolution is still sound, its principles firm and unshaken as a rock, its purpose as clear-cut and uncompromising as ever. While the Russian Communist Party remains the party in power, such incidental developments as the temporary reversion to capitalist economy, and the re-establishment of relationship with bourgeois states do not affect the vital aims and ideals which swept the Bolsheviks to power and by whose programme they, and the conscious elements of the working and peasant masses, stand unflinchingly.

The great event, not only of the first day, but of the entire Conference and of every important gathering in Russia, is Lenin's speech, which invariably sounds the keynote of the main body of the discussion, establishing a level tone of practical common sense, of reasoned criticism which gives a balance and direction to the whole proceedings. On this occasion, when all Russia is ablaze with the prospects of the Genoa Conference or the more dubious alternative of war, his report was awaited with even more than the usual eagerness. When the beloved little man rose to speak there was the usual spontaneous outburst of applause, different from the ovations given him by the Russian masses on his every appearance only in the special quality of kinship which Communists the world over are privileged to feel with this master-mind, whose unparalleled objectivity towards the outer world gives him a perspective on events which he transmits to his auditors with the simplicity and lucidity of a child. Part of the secret of Lenin's unchallengeable

genius is this rare quality of detachment from the confusing issues of party, national and international strife and conflict that rage about his unmoved head. For him, every event is inevitable because it follows logically from a preexisting cause which it is every man's business to know and understand, and every event is equally natural as inevitable, springing from the material laws that govern all existence. His fatalism is not that of a mystic, but of a scientist who comprehends the causal relations of material phenomena, and it is a fatalism essentially sound, normal and constructive, since by understanding the nature and sequence of events, the sane man is able to control and guide them within a reasonable degree and limit. The delegates to the Conference, who included not only members of the R.K.P., but from the Federated Soviet Republics and from the Communist International as well, heard him in his three hours' speech with rapt attention, sometimes breaking into laughter at the quiet humour that relieves the sober plainness of his discourse. There was that in the straightforwardness and honesty of the man which held them as in a vice, carried them with him in his merciless logic, arguments strong link by link on his chain of reasoning until the end, when the whole matter of the past year's happenings and the problems of the future lay in a clear pattern before them, like a jig-saw puzzle resolved to its final proportions.

THE GENOA CONFERENCE.

"The most burning question of the day is that of the Genoa Conference," said Lenin, smiling with quiet humour. "As a matter of fact, too much time and space is being devoted to this question at the expense of our constructive economy. The bourgeois press fills up its columns with all kinds of articles on this subject, and we follow their example. The best of our diplomats (and we have now a fair number of diplomats in our Soviet Government) are working on the matter, and the details of the general programme have been worked out in the Central Committee and discussed over and over again. The question, while not precisely a military one, is at any rate, a question of struggle.... It must be clearly understood that we go to Genoa, not as Communists, but as merchants. We have to trade and they have to trade: we wish to do it in our favour, they in theirs. How this struggle will end depends in a great degree upon the art of our

the official proclamation of the Berlin Conference and also declared that the World Congress could not be convened until the end of April. They hoped that the Genoa Conference would be called by that time so that the Congress would lose the character of immediate intrusion by the proletariat into the haggling of capitalist diplomacy.

Things have turned out differently. The interests of the capitalist states are so divergent that even the common desire to rob and exploit the world cannot immediately bring about unity among the leaders of the world bourgeoisie. For a month past they have been disputing in Genoa as to who shall seize the greater portion of the tribute which they in common desire to levy upon Soviet Russia. The Genoa Conference has not yet come to an end. To everyone who has maintained a spark of Socialist conviction in his breast, to every honest worker, it is abundantly clear from the results of the Genoa Conference that it is the duty of the international working class to intervene with the greatest energy against the policies of the capitalist governments. No less a man than the English Prime Minister, Lloyd George, has openly and clearly proclaimed to the world that Europe is staggering towards a new world war if things go on as they are. The motion of the Russian Soviet Government to put the question of disarmament on the agenda was defeated by the protest of French Imperialism. The motion of Lloyd George to secure a peace for ten years will remain a mere scrap of paper, so long as the capitalist states are armed and the Versailles Treaty remains in force. The differences between England and France which revealed themselves in their most acute form at the Genoa Conference already indicate the future battlefield on which many millions of workers will again fall as victims in the interests of capitalist profits.

The demands which the Allies make upon Soviet Russia are directed against the whole international working class. The workers of all lands have fought for these things—that the factories shall belong to the community and not to individual exploiters. And in Genoa the chief issue in the struggle is nothing else than a demand for the restitution of the Russian factories, mines and docks to the foreign capitalists. The Russian people should return to their old slavery. In addition to this they are to be compelled to pay milliards upon milliards of

the debts of Czarism and the bourgeoisie. Every worker understands that it is necessary to oppose this. The Executive of the Communist International made the suggestion on the 23rd of April to the Second and Vienna Internationals to convene the Commission of Nine (the representatives of the three internationals) at once so that they could decide on the convening of the Workers' World Congress. Two weeks went past with some petty negotiations, and finally the Commission of Nine was to meet on the 7th of May.

The Secretary of the Second International, MacDonald, has expressed his agreement therewith, although he states he is prevented from attending. To the German Social Democracy belongs the credit of having sabotaged this meeting of the Commission of Nine in the interests of World Capital. The Party which by its vote on the 4th of August, 1914, gave the first death stroke to the old International, the Party which as the tool of imperialist, capitalist Germany covered itself with shame during the war; the Party which after the collapse of German imperialism prevented the victory of the proletarian revolution in Central Europe, the Party which gave back to the bourgeoisie without a blow the political power captured by the German working class on the 9th of November, 1918; the Party which helped the bourgeoisie to re-establish its power on the bones of fifteen thousand workers slaughtered by Noske's guards—this Party now seeks by every means to prevent the beginning of common international action by the proletariat. It now declares openly and clearly in its Press, that it is "premature" to convene the Commission of Nine and still more so the Workers' World Congress. One is astounded and asks how it is possible that the German Social Democracy prevents the meeting of the International Workers' Congress just as the day approaches on which French Imperialism will lay its bill before the German people. But it is in this day of presentation, this 31st of May on which Poincaré will present his bill to the German people that the explanation of the attitude of the German Social Democrats lies. Just as it has subjected itself body and soul to the German bourgeoisie, just as little does it dare to struggle against the world bourgeoisie and the setting aside of the Treaty of Versailles. All its hopes are centred in diplomacy and chicanery, none are bound up with the

establish a serious survey of our work: we need now such a control that will appear correct from the viewpoint of the wide masses.... The basis of last Spring's crisis was the cry: 'You are very good people, but you can't do the work you have undertaken.' This was the simplest and most striking criticism which the peasants, and through them the whole category of workers, directed against the Communist Party. On one side is the capitalist who robs, but he knows how to do things; on the other side are you, good Communists, holy people fit for Paradise, but do you know how to do things? The capitalist knew how to supply: can you do it? Do you know how to conduct the national economy not worse than the capitalist? Here is our first lesson in the political report of the Central Committee. We don't know how to conduct the national economy, as was proved during the last year. The times have passed when it was only necessary to develop a programme and to call upon the people to execute it. We must prove that we can help the worker and peasant in his difficulty. He should see that we have passed the test of competition.... Our Communist pride prevents us from admitting that the Communist who has faced death, who has been in Kathage, who has made the greatest revolution in the world, to whom, if not forty pyramids, at least forty countries are looking in the hope of getting rid of capitalism—that such a Communist has to learn from an ordinary capitalist salesman who has run about for ten years and who knows the market very well, while you responsible Communists, you devoted revolutionaries, not only don't know it, but don't know that you don't know it!

We must leave this Conference with the conviction that we know now what we were ignorant of before: that we must start again from the A.D.C. We are still revolutionaries and can understand this simple necessity of starting over several times from the beginning. We have everything we need except efficiency, and if we derive this lesson from the past year and apply it to the coming year, we can overcome this difficulty too.

STATE CAPITALISM AND THE CESSATION OF RETREAT.

"Of political power we have sufficient, more than we need; of economic means we have also plenty, but we have not the efficiency to remove this entire structure and indirectly to manage it, so that we should be the leaders, not the subordinates. We must know how to carry on trade and meet the needs of the peasantry."

"For a year we have retreated, and we must say in the name of the entire Party: 'Stop!' Our aim, that we have striven for in our retreat, is reached. Now we have a different aim, and this is the grouping of forces. We have entered upon a new phase. Retreat is a very hard task for revolutionaries used to attack. But our very success made it necessary for us to retreat; we could not hold all the positions captured in the confusion of success. We had plenty of room to retreat without losing our principal positions. To retreat triumphantly after a great offensive is exceedingly difficult: we have to punish the least infraction of discipline, and the principal thing is to avoid panic."

The speech closed with an exhaustive treatment of building up the foundations of the Party and the relationship between Soviet Institutions and the Party.

The Comintern Tolerate No Sabotage!

The Second International seeks to obstruct the Workers' World Congress

Working Men and Women!

THE Conference of the Executives of the three Workers' Internationals which took place at the beginning of April pronounced in favour of the calling of a Workers' World Congress at the earliest possible moment. The necessity for a speedy convening of the Workers' World Congress was so apparent in view of the Genoa Conference that even the Second International did not dare openly to oppose this demand, although

in reality it was firmly determined to frustrate the holding of the Congress. The Second International is a union of reformist parties who are either immediately allied with their capitalist governments or desire to avoid any conflict.

The leaders of the Second International do not want to interfere with the work of the capitalist diplomats. They therefore opposed the natural demand that the annulment of the shameful Versailles Treaty should be embodied in

of Nine will immediately take the necessary steps for the revocation of this oppressive measure. If that does not take place, our delegation will seriously have to consider whether it should not move the transference of the sessions of the Commission of Nine to Moscow, where the representatives of all groups will have

complete and equal freedom of movement.

Awaiting an immediate reply, I am,
With Communist greetings,
CLARA ZETKIN,
for the Delegation of the Executive
Committee of the
Communist International.

America

The Miners in Battle

By JOHN DORSEY (Chicago)

THE great United Mine Workers of America swung into action on the 1st of April, giving battle for the first time in their history on almost the entire front, including the anthracite and bituminous fields. Every coal mine where the miners are organised, with one small exception where a few thousand miners still have a contract which expires next month, was closed down immediately and completely. But that is not all. The miners have made a great drive on the unorganised fields also, and even the capitalistic press acknowledges that the number of strikers as this is being written, is more than 665,000. It is the second complete industrial strike in the history of American labour, the first one being the great steel strike of 1919. The present strike is, in a way, a continuation of that historic battle, for the miners are up against the same forces as were the steel workers. Garyism was the foe in 1919, and now in 1922, the miners are making their most desperate struggle against the Steel Corporation which, allied with the great railroads of the East, controls 95 per cent of the coal production of the country. It is no accident that Bill Feeney, the organiser for the miners who is making spectacular raids into the non-union fields, lining up tens of thousands of miners into the union every week, was also one of the foremost organisers in the field for the Steel Committee. In his book, *The Great Steel Strike*, Foster tells something of Feeney's work in that battle, part of which is worth recalling.

Feeney was the United Mine Workers' organiser delegated to work with the Steel Committee, and had been made local secretary in charge of the Monaca-Donora district. Monaca is on the Monongahela river, about forty miles from Pittsburgh, and is the home of the Pittsburgh Steel Company and several

other large steel manufacturers; it is well known to labour organisers as the place where, in a previous campaign, organiser Jell. Pierce was killed. The Burgess of Monaca had flatly refused to allow Feeney to hold any meeting in that town, and he had therefore been compelled to operate from Charleroi, a town several miles away. But with the advent of Spring and open weather, Feeney called a meeting to take place in the streets of Monaca on April 1st. The Burgess threatened dire consequences should the meeting be held, but Feeney proceeded with his arrangements and on the appointed date marched 10,000 union miners from the surrounding country into Monaca to demonstrate for free speech and free assemblage. The meeting was a huge success, and public opinion was so overwhelmingly on the side of the workers that the Burgess had to withdraw his order and allow the steel workers to hold their meetings. The affair was the means of establishing the unions solidly in the big mills of Monaca.

In Donora, the other big centre in Feeney's district, matters came to a sharper conflict. The town was closed to meetings, so Feeney rented some vacant lots just outside of town for that purpose. In this he was highly successful, and was signing up the steel workers in droves, when the Steel Company agents persuaded the local business men to sign an order to Feeney, commanding him to get out of the district. When Feeney took the matter to the organised miners of the locality, these solidly organized men at once put a strict boycott on the town, which soon almost ruined the local business men. They quickly made a public apology to Feeney, and ousted their own officials who had engineered the matter.

Now Feeney is leading the drive of these miners, the same men who showed

self-defence of the international proletarian. Like a good child it renounces any insurrection against the world bourgeoisie in order to be spared by it and sabotages the meeting of the Workers' World Congress. The German Social Democracy sabotages the meeting of the Workers' World Congress because it fears that it will also be compelled in Germany to sit round a table with the other workers' parties in order to deliberate how the German workers can jointly fight against the enormous burden of taxes with which they are threatened.

Working Men and Women!

The Vienna International, faithful to her part which is to conceal what exists and to mask the real state of affairs, seeks to raise the hope that it is only a question of technical reasons for the postponing of the session of the Commission of Nine for a week.

We warn you not to believe this! Whoever was capable of observing matters at Genoa for a month without feeling that immediate action ought to be taken, whoever after this month seeks to further postpone the meeting of the Commission of Nine, has proved that not technical but political reasons are holding him back from common action.

If you desire that the World Congress of the working class take place, that it result not in the acceptance of paper resolutions as was the case at the Congress of the Amsterdam International at Rome, but that it lead to practical action,

then you must not be silent, you must not wait until the diplomats of the Vienna International have convinced the diplomats of the Second International of the harmlessness of a Workers' World Congress, then you, working men and women must, without regard to the party to which you belong, take the matter of the Workers' World Congress into your own hands!

We herewith appeal to the workers of all parties who are in favour of the united front of the proletariat against the offensive of capital to form in every workshop, in every city, joint committees to promote the Workers' World Congress and to compel their local and central party and trade union organisations to pronounce in favour of the immediate convening of the Workers' World Congress.

Working Men and Women!

If you, without regard to the party to which you belong, powerfully raise your voice for the convening of the Workers' World Congress, your leaders will think ten times before they go on with their sabotaging.

The Second International has seriously violated the Berlin Agreement of the three Executives. It will rest with the Communist International to declare what are the consequences. It is the business of the proletariat, without regard to party, to see to it that the energetic unmistakable call of the whole proletarian now rings forth.

The Communist Delegation to the Chairman of the Commission of Nine

The Delegation of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.
Berlin, May 30th, 1922.

DEAR Comrade Adler,—On behalf of our delegation, I desire to inform you of the following:

1—The six attorneys named in your letter, as well as the three Russian Social Revolutionaries you mentioned, are admitted as retained for the defence in the Social Revolutionary trial in Moscow. The Soviet Government will do all in its power to see to it that their passage into Russia take place unhindered. The persons in question must apply to the Russian Legation in Berlin for their *visum*. The trial begins on May 23rd. Kindly communicate this information to the persons in question.

2—Our delegation requests you to communicate the following to the German representatives of the German Social Democracy in the Commission of Nine:

Our delegation is being deprived of its freedom of movement in Germany by the authorities. The Prussian Minister of the Interior has forbidden Comrade Radek speak in the Düsseldorf mass meeting, although Vandervelde, signatory to the Treaty of Versailles, obtained permission to speak. The German Foreign Office has gone still further—it forbids Comrade Radek to travel to Düsseldorf.

3—A police circular has been issued for the arrest of Felix Wolf, the secretary of our delegation, for alleged participation in the March Action in 1921. We expect that the representatives of the German Social Democracy in the Commission

begin to feel the pinch, it may be expected that violence against the strikers will take on considerable proportions.

Just before the strike there was some talk of separate district agreements. This looked rather dangerous for a time, but such a wave of sentiment swept through the union against any break in the united front of the organization against the operators, that all talk of separate agreements was soon effectively squelched. Anyone who wants to become unpopular with the miners now has only to propose a settlement for one district alone. The miners will not stand for such tactics; they have begun to feel the power which comes from unified national action, and they will not tolerate anything that will diminish that power.

Back of the determination to stand together to the last lies a pressing economic need. The country has been flooded with stories of the high wages supposedly earned by the miners in the past year. These are purely imaginary, existing only in the minds of the mine-owners and their publicity agents. The official figures on miners' earnings for the past year in the richest coal fields show that the men have been averaging \$12.00 to \$15.00 per week for the past year. This is actually below the starvation line, considering the prices of necessities and the fact that this wage must usually support a family. In the face of this terrible lowering of the miners' standard of living, the bosses now wish to make a further cut of 40 per cent in wages. A bitter and terrible resentment against this move has welded the entire mass of miners together into one great solid body.

In Kansas we have the curious spectacle of the Industrial Court, Governor

Allen's bid for fame, giving the miners a thirty-day permission to strike. The miners have struck, but it is very, very doubtful if they will return to work should the Industrial Court decide not to grant an extension and the strike still be on at the end of April. The Kansas miners have been striking pretty steadily now for the past three years, but they are veterans at the game, and will stick until the owners come across with a favourable agreement.

Like every other big coal strike, this one is having international effects. Coal is one of the most international of commodities; the slightest disturbance in the production and distribution in one country immediately affects all the others. If when the miners of England strike the American miners work harder and turn out more coal to supply the British market, then the British miners will surely lose their strike. The reverse is just as true. International solidarity is now one of the burning issues before all the miners of the world.

In spite of the terrible hardships the miners are undergoing, without regard to the extremely low earnings for a long time past and ignoring the industrial depression which encourages the bosses, the miners are going into this fight with the spirit of winning. They have a grim determination to force the bosses to terms. Their attitude has already won them a tremendous moral victory; already the situation has assumed a more favourable atmosphere for the miners. Certainly they have already vindicated their claim to be the foremost ranks of the labour movement of America, holding the front line trenches against the forces of capitalist exploitation.

Manifesto of the Georgian Soviets

WE, the representatives of the toiling masses assembled at the First Congress of the Georgian Soviets, send our fraternal greetings to all the oppressed workers struggling against the exploiters of the whole world, and we protest indignantly against the oppressors and their lackeys who, under false pretences of sympathizing with "Independent Georgia," are even today preparing a fresh attack against the workers and peasants power which we have secured. Georgia was part of the Czar's Empire—claimed to it by the bonds of violence and oppression. In complete

accord with the working class of Russia, the toiling masses of Georgia have for a series of years struggled relentlessly against Czarist autocracy, big landlords and bourgeois exploitation. Owing to a lack of political experience on the part of the Georgian toiling masses, the leadership in this struggle for a number of years had passed into the hands of the petty bourgeois intellectuals, which, under the banner of Menshevism, weakened the struggle of the workers by trying to compromise and negotiate with the autocracy, landlords, and especially with the bourgeoisie.

their sterling qualities in the steel strike, in their own fight against the same financial interests. District 5, of the Mine Workers, Western Pennsylvania, is also the home of the Steel Corporation and there we see the miners' battle in its true light, a struggle against Gary and all he represents. The non-union bituminous fields of this district are the chief sources of coal and coke for the Steel Corporation. The Connellsville coke region has related unionization for years; the H. C. Frick Company was the dictator of that region and fixed wages, hours, and working conditions. Feeney laid his plans long in advance to pull this section of the miners out. Six weeks before the strike, he sent groups of picket men from the union fields into the Connellsville region, to look for work. The companies were putting on forces in anticipation of the strike. They thought these men were deserters from the union, looking for a job where strike would not reach them, and gladly put them to work. But they were experienced organizers—men who know how to do their work without the accompaniment of a brass band. The result was that when the strike came, tens of thousands of the supposedly non-union miners walked out with the union men and immediately joined the union.

Like a wave the movement spread to adjoining fields, and in seven or eight days the first victory of the miners was registered in the closing down of great mills in Youngstown, in the Mahoning Valley, for lack of fuel. Furnaces were soon being banked by the Republic Iron and Steel Company, the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, the Sharon Steel Hoop Company, the Struthers Furnace Company, and the Carnegie Steel Company. The last named is the chief subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation. Coal production was almost entirely stopped in the non-union fields of Western Pennsylvania, including the counties of Fayette, Westmoreland, Greene and Mercer. In Central Pennsylvania and West Virginia, the drive on the non-union fields started a few days later, but promises to be equally effective; the district is alive with meetings enrolling the miners into the union and closing down the mines.

The men who are putting this campaign over know the coal and coke regions of Pennsylvania and West Virginia to a nicety. They have their forces thoroughly organized and they are out with the

determination to win. The fighting spirit of the miners, which has made their union the backbone of the labour movement, is at white heat. Before the strike date they had the leaflets carrying the strike order ready in all languages; volunteers from the coke plants and the union mines started out at a given time by autos, street cars and railway, and covered every union and non-union mining camp in the region on March 30th and 31st. When the non-union men were pulled out it was a complete surprise to the bosses. A great demonstration was held in Brownsville, Pa., on the 1st of April, and for the first time in the history of the fields the non-union miners joined the parade. From that time on they organized new locals every day; some days as many as eight locals would be organized in the same hall, the miners coming in by the thousands, meeting to elect officers and then emptying the hall for the next bunch. About 35,000 men have been added to the organized forces of District 5 in the first two weeks of the strike.

When the strike was called the mine-owners and the steel kings were very boastful of their strength, and pointed to the large supply of coal on hand, which they claimed would keep them going until the miners should be starved out. But they are not bragging now; instead, they are talking about "drastic action"; one big steel man is quoted as saying, "the mines will be operated at any cost." The only meaning this can have is, that they are preparing a campaign of violence and intimidation against the striking miners. Before this is printed, some of this threatened "drastic action" may have already taken place.

So far there has not been more than the usual amount of violence committed against the miners, probably because there is still quite a reserve of coal on hand. But ominous preparations are going on. In West Virginia, of course, the reign of terror of company gunmen and state militia continues unchecked. In Colorado, Pat Hamrock, the boss who commanded the militia at the Ludlow massacre, is in charge of the state constabulary which is recruiting new forces for strike duty. Pennsylvania state, county, and local governments are, as a matter of course, in the hands of the coal operators; and the State Police are becoming more active and menacing. As the strike becomes more and more effective, and the operators and steel barons

rule of the Nationalist Party. A strong revolutionary spirit swept over the toiling masses. The Red Army might already at that time have entered Georgia as long-wished liberators from the yoke of the Mensheviks and the Entente. The conscious workers and peasants looked forward to the Red troops and called loudly to the Soviet Government for their help. But, unwilling to shed the blood of the workers and peasants, and acting upon their desire to establish a solid peace between the workers and peasants of Georgia and Russia, the Russian Government stopped the march of the Red Army on Georgia and in May, 1920, signed a treaty of peace.

But from the very first day of the signing of the treaty, the Mensheviks began to systematically violate it. They began openly and secretly to assist all the enemies of Soviet Russia with the hope that the Soviet Government would soon fall and that the workers' and peasants' revolution in Russia would be finally crushed. These gentlemen, however, were cruelly mistaken.

The end of the Polish war and the defeat of Wrangel in the autumn of 1920 caused the inevitable collapse of the Georgian wing of the counter-revolutionary front. Taught by the experience of the agreement with the Georgian Mensheviks—which they had so perfidiously and with unprecendented treachery broken—the Russian Soviet Republic could not, of course, stand aside during the struggle which the Georgian toiling masses conducted against the Georgian Menshevik Government, and it was only natural that the workers and peasants of the Soviet Federation should come to the help of the Georgian masses who had revolted against the bourgeoisie and the landlords.

The Red troops came as liberators into a country where revolution was rampant. The great majority of the Georgian national army created by the Mensheviks refused to fight against the Red troops, and instead, fraternised with them. Betrayed by their betrayal of the revolution, the Menshevik Government was overthrown and fled to the Entente ships, carrying away with them the funds of the Georgian people.

The leaders of the Second International, Kautsky, Henderson, McDonald, Huyman, and many others, and all the cliques of the leading imperialist politicians, together with the press of the International Stock Exchange, expressed their ardent sympathy with the Georgian

"democracy" crashed—as they allege—by Soviet imperialism. But we, who represent the toiling masses of Georgia, we, the Georgian workers and peasants who have met at this Congress of the Soviets—we rail to the pillar of infamy the shameful international comedy of base lies, we reject the hypocritical sympathy of Henderson and Vandervelde with the same scorn and indignation as we reject the compassion of their lords and masters—the British and French bankers.

The capitalist and social-democratic protectors of the Georgian Mensheviks propose to go to the population and organise in Georgia a referendum of the same type as the Entente had organised or was going to do in Silesia, Eastern Galicia, Lithuania, Armenia, etc. The toiling masses of Georgia have long ago voiced their true feelings—first by a series of uninterrupted revolts against the Mensheviks, and then at elections in the urban and rural Soviets, now—at last—at the All-Georgian Congress of the Soviets of the toiling masses. This is the most correct and true expression of the political experience, feelings, and wishes of the toiling people of Georgia.

We need the Red Army as long as the existence of the Soviet Republic is threatened, and until the workers of the world will overthrow the power of the rapacious imperialists and create real guarantees for a peaceful and fraternal co-operation of all the peoples. We—Georgian workers and peasants, and together with the workers and peasants of all the Soviet Republics and the Red Army itself—eagerly look forward to the day when the final defeat of imperialism will allow us to demobilise the Red Army and let our brothers return to their peaceful labour in fields and workshops.

Advanced Workers! Tell the masses all the world over that for the first time in Georgian history the power in the country belongs to the workers and peasants. This power we hold firmly and we surrender it to none. Before the workers and peasants of the world we declare that, during their three and a half years of rule, the Mensheviks did nothing for the Georgian workers. Nor did the Georgian peasant receive the land promised him by the Mensheviks. The Mensheviks during all the time they held power were unable to restore international or internal peace in the country. Owing to their policy they made enemies not only of Soviet Russia, but also of the neighbouring republics. And—worst of all—they utterly

During the imperialist war, the Menshevik party in Georgia incited the minds of the toiling masses with the poison of bourgeois patriotism and in this they were heartily supported by the traitorous leaders of the 2nd International.

When Czarism was overthrown by the March Revolution in 1917, the petty bourgeois Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionary parties came to power for a while in Russia. The important *role* among them was played by Tcheidze, Tsereteli and others. In the sphere of international politics the watchwords of the Mensheviks, as well as all the rest of the petty bourgeois parties, was to *continue the war* on the side of the imperialist nations of the Entente. While in the social domain the Mensheviks strove to *uphold the bourgeois order*.

Politically, they deemed it necessary to make the bourgeois rule under the name of a *Democratic Republic*, which world experience has shown to be nothing but a tool in the hands of the ruling capitalist clique. In their national policy the Mensheviks were at one with all bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties in fighting decisively against the national demands of the Finns, the Ukrainians, and other nationalities that were shut up in the Czarist prison.

In Georgia they hampered, with all possible means, the struggle of the toiling masses against their oppressors, hindered the solution of the agrarian question.

In full accord with the avowed bourgeois Menshevik papers they centred their efforts on a campaign of calumny against the Bolsheviks by misrepresenting them in the eyes of the workers and peasants as enemies of the revolution and as Czarist agents. Never in the history of political struggles has there been a campaign of lies, more base and spiteful than this.

After the almost bloodless Petrograd October revolution, which overthrew the discredited government of Kerensky and Tsereteli, the Mensheviks took the lead in the civil war that united into one common camp against the Workers' and Peasants' Soviets, all the Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries, Cadets, and the "Black Hundred" in the country. When all obstacles had been overcome and the workers were victorious in every part of Russia the Georgian Mensheviks severed the whole of Trans-Caucasia from the Soviet Republic and tried to make it an independent bourgeois state. Having broken off their ties with the Russian working class, they went hand in hand

with the bourgeois and landlord clique as represented by the Georgian nationalists, the American Dashnaks, and the Azerbadjan Nussavattists. Under the Menshevik leadership all Transcaucasia was converted into counter-revolutionary trenches in order to crush the workers' and peasants' revolution.

Thus under the Mensheviks leadership a dictatorship of the exploiters over the workers was set up in Transcaucasia which was separated from Russia not on a national but on a class ground. The Mensheviks seized the administrative and police apparatus, they set the tone to all Transcaucasian and their control of Georgia was unchallenged.

The intervention of the Turks in Transcaucasia sharpened the struggle between the different national factions of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois front. The Mensheviks deemed this moment favourable for dismembering Trans-Caucasia and proclaiming the apparent independence of Georgia. Seeing that they were well protected against the northern danger by the Kaiser's and the Sultan's troops, the Mensheviks ruthlessly suppressed the workers' strikes and peasant revolts which were continually breaking out in different parts of the country. Just as the Georgian Mensheviks—in the persons of Tcheidze and Tsereteli—previously attempted to suppress the autonomy of the Finns and Ukrainian peoples, so now they fought against the national tendencies of the Abkhazians, the Adgharians, and the Ossetians.

With the collapse of German militarism Menshevik Georgia changed her masters, but neither her international nor home policy. This time the Mensheviks became a tool in the hands of the Entente Imperialists. They maintained constant relations with all the counter-revolutionary forces in the South of Russia. They did not refrain from employing a single measure which could prejudice Russia and do her harm. Naturally the Communist Party was definitely driven underground, while the secret police worked to the great glory of the bourgeois Republic.

During the occupation of Batoum by the British troops the Georgian Mensheviks' policy towards Soviet Russia was particularly insolent and provoking, and democratic Georgia was certainly the best ally Demikin could have wished for his campaign.

His defeat at the hand of the Red Armies and the approach of the latter troops to the Trans-Caucasian frontier at the beginning of 1920, shook the fictitious

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speeded the relations between the different nationalities in their own country. Many a bloody conflict inside Georgia was due to their nationalist and chauvinist policy.

The Soviet power on the contrary has already, in a brief space of time, solved the most crucial questions. The toilers have already received the land, there is no more oppression in the sphere of agriculture, national peace between all nationalities has been restored at home, and peaceful brotherly relations have been established with the Soviet and non-Soviet states surrounding Georgia. During the one year that the Soviets have held power in Georgia the external peace and calm within the country has not been disturbed for a single moment.

We wish to live in peace and fraternal co-operation with all the peoples. We are reconstructing our economic life which was destroyed by long years of imperialist and civil war, and decline without hesitation that we shall soon triumph on the economic front just as we have already triumphed on the civil war fronts.

Conscious and honest soldiers and sailors of all countries! Tell and explain

to your brothers that the path of restoration of bourgeois Georgia cannot be laid in any other way than across the corpses of the Georgian workers and peasants. Our alliance with Soviet Armenia, Soviet Azerbaijan and the Great Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic has been consolidated and shall never be broken.

Workers, men and women, and labouring peasants of Europe and all other countries! We send this fraternal appeal to you with the feeling of solidarity and fraternal unity of the labouring masses of all countries.

Long Live the Power of the Soviets!
Long Live the World Proletarian Revolution!

The Presidium of the Congress:

MAKHARADZE, MDIVANI.
DUMBADEV, GEGETIKHORI.
TOPRIS, GAGLOVEI.
LAKOTA, GLONTI.
OKRUSHVILI, TAPTIASHVILI.
VARVARA, OKOUBAVA.
MAMOLIA, STOKITA.
KHUMISHASHVILI, VARAMISHVILI.
NAZARETIAN.

The Red Calendar

- Apr. 15-17. The Congress of I.L.P.
16. Rapallo Treaty signed.
16-17. The National Council of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia for the United Front.
20. Big Labour Demonstrations for the United Front in Germany, Austria, &c.
20. Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions opens in Rome.
22-23. The National Council of the C.P. of France against the United Front.
24. The War Speech of Poincaré in Bar-le-duc.
- May 1. May Day Celebrations all over the world.
2. Berlin Police Charge the Demonstrating Municipal Workers.
2. Lock-out begins of the 47 Unions in Britain.
4. Protest Strike of the Berlin Municipal Workers.
4. Metal Workers Strike in Czecho-Slovakia.
4. Kingisepp, Estonian Communist Leader, Executed.
4. Wu-Pei-Fu's Victory in the Chinese Civil War.
6. Jim Larkin Released on Bail.
7. Communist Successes in Bye-Elections in Paris Suburbs.
8. British Shipyard Workers Resume Work.

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